

THE
**SOCIALIST
STANDARD**

1963

SOCIALIST STANDARD



Unemployed Outside a Merseyside Labour Exchange, December, 1962

UNEMPLOYMENT: A GRIM NEW YEAR

HONESTY IN POLITICS

THE PLANNING MYTH

INDIA AND CHINA

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1) That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2) That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3) That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4) That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5) That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6) That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7) That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8) The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Branches

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: M. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY 1st and 3rd Thursdays (3rd & 17th Jan.) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: SPGB 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm. 4th Jan. at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 18th Jan. at 32 Ickleton Road, Motttingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

GLASGOW Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 30 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

HACKNEY Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

Groups

BRIGHTON Meetings Fridays, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

BROMLEY For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

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EARLS COURT & DISTRICT Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

MID HERTS Enquiries: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield (Phone Hatfield 4802). Regular monthly discussions at above address.

LEWISHAM Wednesdays 9th & 23rd Jan. 8.15 pm. Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, 2 Davenport Road, SE6.

NOTTINGHAM 2nd & 4th Wednesdays (9th & 23rd Jan.) 8 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street, Correspondence: G. Hallam, 14 Church Drive, Carrington, Nottingham.

PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.) Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX 2nd and 4th Monday in month (14th and 28th Jan.) 8 pm, 17 Cozswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

SWANSEA 1st and 3rd Monday (7th and 21st Jan.) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W.5

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (10th and 24th Jan.) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane Romford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 8.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, near "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (11th and 25th Jan.) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: M. Hopwood, 4 St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale. Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Enquiries: T. Lord 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran near Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

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GREAT BRITAIN



THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

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Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings etc. for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

NEWS IN REVIEW	4
CND's "new" plan Supersonic Airliner Unemployment	
HAPPY NEW YEAR	5
"WE WANT WORK"	7
PILKINGTON REPORT THE SPGB'S STATEMENT	8
OUT OF TOUCH WITH REALITY	9
THE PLANNING MYTH	10
WHAT ARE WAGES	11
HONESTY IN POLITICS	12
INDIA AND CHINA	13
BOOKS: THE FLIGHT TO VARENNES	14
TO A YOUNG READER	15
BRANCH NEWS & MEETINGS	16

UNEMPLOYMENT

A grim New Year

It is with us again, this condition they have repeatedly assured us was gone for good. Unemployment at the end of 1962 was pressing stubbornly upwards and was expected to top the 600,000 mark with the turn of the year. Once again we are seeing a lengthening of the dole queues. Some sections of workers have been affected more than others, such as those in manufacturing and construction. There has, for some time, also been widespread unemployment amongst teenage school leavers.

In case we should be particularly startled by its reappearance in Britain, we should not forget that other countries have suffered more or less continuously for the past few years. The U.S.A., for example, has had around five million jobless for some time and in Canada some ten per cent of the labour force have been affected, Western Germany, Italy, Austria, Belgium and others—the list is hefty and depressing. Northern Ireland has had persistently high unemployment for a long time, despite the millions spent by her Government on industrial works and attempts to attract foreign capital.

Signs of strain, then, are appearing all over the capitalist world, and as far as British Capitalists at least are concerned, they have lost any confidence they may have had in an everlasting boom. There was a time not so long ago when they would have hoarded labour during comparatively minor trade setbacks, in the expectation of an early improvement. Those were the days when they were still scared of losing their skilled workers in conditions of almost chronic labour shortage. But how times have changed. "Surplus" workers are being sloughed off as profit margins shrink and the struggle to sell reaches cut-throat proportions.

A grim picture indeed! We have always been more than a little sceptical about stories of working class post-war prosperity. It has taken the present recession to tear away the flimsy facade and show once again just how insecure workers' lives really are.

In its cynical efforts to make political capital out of workers' misery, the Labour Party blames the Government bungling for the onset of the crisis, and thus reveals its own abysmal ignorance of the world in which we live. The Gaitskell set still urge Macmillan to "plan for expansion" under conditions of tightening markets and falling profits. They conveniently forget that it is precisely the previous plans for expansion which have gone awry. The present plight of the steel industry, for example, should illustrate this very well.

No, Macmillan and his crew are floundering in a sea of Capitalist chaos just as any other Government would have done. They know that the unemployment problem may cost them votes and they would like to solve it if they could. But it baffles them because it has its origin in the very system which they are administering. Capitalism is unplanable and inhuman. It is based on the private ownership of the means of life and the production of goods for sale and profit, and workers will be employed only so long as it is profitable for capitalists to do so.

We are seeing again the intensifying of human hardship side-by-side with surpluses of goods which the market cannot absorb. Which should just serve to remind us that Capitalism is still a system of bitter contradictions which no government can iron out. They will disappear only when capitalism itself is abolished and Socialism takes its place.



CND's "new" plan

ONCE UPON a time there was an organisation, which stood for nuclear disarmament. A lot of people joined it and not all of them were beatniks or angry out for a punch up with the cops. They did a lot of work and made a lot of fuss with their demonstrations in Trafalgar Square.

Some of this organisation's members said that they were Socialists, but they thought that Socialism should wait because the first priority was to have capitalism get rid of its nuclear weapons.

When the Russians let off a whopping great bomb they went to the Soviet Embassy and said that they would not leave until they had an assurance that no more bombs would be tested. When it was time for the Embassy to close the police came and carried them out into the street.

They went on thinking that they could get capitalism to scrap its nuclear bombs.

Then the Cuba crisis came and everybody, including the organisation, got the wind up. A lot of people began to doubt the theory that the two disputing blocs of capitalism could keep the peace in a state of mutual terror, and they said so. They were a bit slow in this—Socialism had been pointing it out ever since the deterrent theory was born, which was a long time before the nuclear bomb came along.

So the CND dropped their own bomb. There is, they have decided, a new order of priorities. The first one is to get the support of as many of the deterrent-theory doubters as they can. They have

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THE NEWS IN REVIEW

guessed that this is unlikely to happen unless they modify their old policy.

The first urgency now, according to CND, is to limit nuclear weapons to Russia and America. Perhaps they have not noticed that these are the very two countries which are the most likely to use such weapons, because they are the countries who are currently disputing on a world-wide scale.

But the important point is that CND has gone the way of so many other organisations whose members said that they wanted Socialism, but thought that the revolution should wait until they had got some sort of reformed capitalism first.

All of them started out with a bold, dramatic policy which stirred up some support. Then the need to attract more members persuaded them to modify their policy and to keep it more in line with the requirements of capitalism.

Perhaps one day CND will end up like some of the others—a staid, responsible pillar of capitalist society, nuclear weapons and all.

This need be no fairy story. And there is no happy ending.

Supersonic Airliner

Among clouds of misgiving, with hardly a cheer raised for it, the project for an Anglo-French supersonic airliner—to be called the Concorde—has got off the ground.

The economics of the thing are dicy. The £150 million aircraft is the biggest—in size and money—aviation venture ever to have been launched in Europe.

The British and French governments hope that the Concorde, flying at around 1,500 miles an hour, will capture the market for big, fast, long range airliners which will be open when the last of the present type of jets are played out, in about seven years' time.

But right now the American aircraft industry is examining the prospects for a Mach 3 airliner. If this project comes to reality the Anglo-French giant will probably be out of date a few years after its first flight and a lot of expensive aircraft will be up for sale at knock down prices.

This was the fate of the Britannias and the Comets, both of which have been beaten out of the market by the big American jets. BOAC, once bitten, is distinctly shy of the supersonic project. They will not buy it, they say, unless they are assured that "... the Anglo-French supersonic aircraft will be economically operable and competitive for a period equal to that currently used in accounting practice."

But if there are uncertainties that the Concorde will make money, nobody doubts its ability to make a lot of noise. People who have been driven to distraction by the scream of the jets now have to look forward to supersonic booms rippling regularly over the country. (The more powerful American aeroplanes will probably be worse for noise than the Concorde.)

The government, of course, knows of this, but have shrugged the problem off. The damage from the booms, says Minister of Aviation Julian Amery, will be "negligible"—a sweet word, the meaning of which is gradually changing as politicians use it consistently to assure us that something which they know is harmful is actually almost good for us.

The British airlines, and the British aircraft industry, cannot afford to be left out of the scramble for speed and more speed, which for some of them is the only hope of making any profit. So they are committed to something which even by capitalism's standards is unlikely to be a success.

By human standards the thing is a complete write-off. It makes us wonder what inhuman, stupid, pointless venture capitalism will think up next.

Unemployment

While Mr. Maudling talked, the unemployed figure went up and the number of vacant jobs went down, so that on a graph a great gap yawned between the two lines.

There were all manner of indications that this increase in unemployment is more serious than any other recent bout of it.

The total for November was the worst for that month since 1940. The number

of wholly unemployed increased from mid-October to mid-November at over twice the normal seasonal rate. The Northern region had the highest percentage of unemployed since the Ministry of Labour began keeping regional figures, in 1949.

And all this was happening after the reductions in Bank Rate, after the easing of credit restrictions, after the cuts in purchase tax and the other government measures which, the City Editors so often tell us, cannot fail to stimulate the economy.

Yet the economy remains stubbornly unstimulated. Gloomed *The Guardian*

on November 23rd last: "... business is no more confident now of good times ahead than it has been all summer ... the New Year unemployment could reach a new post-war high. ..."

Now anyone with a moderately long memory will recall that the great post-war security schemes were supposed to have taken the sting out of unemployment.

The fact is, though, that in one way the out of work are worse off now than they were before the war. A single man can now get £2 17s. 6d. from the dole which is about nineteen per cent. of his average earnings when he is in work. In 1924 the dole was 32 per cent. of average

earnings; since then this percentage has steadily decreased.

The present day percentage of nineteen compares to 90 per cent. in Germany, 70 per cent. in Holland and 60 per cent. in Switzerland.

There is a simple way of summing this up. The promises which were made for capitalism during the last war—that life would be freer and more secure when the shooting had stopped—have been exposed.

It is still possible, even likely, that masses of workers in this country can be unemployed. Slumps are still around every corner. All the promises which are made for capitalism are empty lies.

PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE Happy New Year!

WE HAVE all come across the old joke (and some of its more doubtful variations) about a Happy New Year To All Our Readers. Well, ask the SOCIALIST STANDARD whether it joins in this wish and our answer is No—and then again, Yes.

Because "Happy New Year" has become for many workers something more than a wish—almost, in fact, a prayer. The turn of the year is for them something of a mystic moment, charged with superstitious undertones, when something wonderful happens which changes their fortunes for the next twelve months. They have a simple faith that the New Year will see the end of what they call their Bad Luck. (How many times is poor old Luck blamed for something which is nothing to do with him? It is Bad Luck when a worker is redundant or when he can't get a house or when he cops one in the army in the war.)

The New Year, many workers hope, will usher a new rhythm into their lives, will bring success, security, happiness—even riches, perhaps. So if they wish each other a Happy New Year—and silently reserve the same wish for themselves—it is as a supplication to the mystic moment.

We have no desire to be churlish. It is a pleasant enough thing that we should wish each other, at any time, happiness in the future. And perhaps we might as well do this at the arbitrary moment when one year changes to another as at any other time. But we should also think a little more deeply about the wish and ask ourselves one or two questions about it. Most of all we should ask

what we are doing to give it some chance of becoming more than a wish, of becoming reality.

For most people, the answer to this question is: Nothing. Each January they trot out the same formal, meaningless sentiments which they coyly call the Compliments of the Season, with never a thought for what the compliments are worth. Wanly, confusedly, they hope that the wish will change something.

But nothing changes—nothing, at any rate, that matters. Year by year capitalism produces the same problems and continues to provide excuses for the wish-mongers to exercise their mysticism. Let us go back, for example, over the recent files of the SOCIALIST STANDARD to see what we had to worry and to wish about in January's past.

Take 1958. We were urging our readers to Get It Straight and to realise that the reformists' schemes had failed miserably to improve our lot. "The Labour Party," we said, "is back where it started, looking for another cure for the housing problem within capitalism." Housing! How many workers pin their hopes for a better 1963 upon getting out of the prefab, or the furnished room, or the accommodation centre, and moving into a house? How many hope that they will not still be living in a slum this time next year? Yet all the efforts of capitalism's reformers, all the promises and all the wishes, have no effect on the problem of bad housing.

The slums increase faster than new housing—some of it the slums of the not so distant future—can be put up. The tragic figure of homeless families in

London climbs higher month by month. The politicians talk on. The promises are heaped one upon the other, like a bricklayer laying his bricks. Last November 1st, Sir Keith Joseph, the latest Minister of Housing, was promising again to speed up slum clearance and to accelerate the progress of most elements of the housing programme and to keep the pace up until "the housing of the entire nation is decent." (Sir Keith, of course, already lives in a pretty decent house himself, in the posher part of Chelsea.)

We have seen housing ministers come and go and we have heard many, many promises. We shall be hearing them this time next year and the year after that, and so on, until we have a world in which homes are built for humans to live in and not as a source of profit for somebody who would not want to be found dead in them.

Take 1961. Then, we were exposing the myth of high wages for the working class—the myth which is trumpeted almost every day from the capitalist press—and pointing out that the coming year, like many before it, was an uncertain one for capitalism's economy. For many industries uncertainty was in the air, as they anxiously asked themselves whether they would be able to sell as much of their products as they needed to during 1961. The Selwyn Lloyd budget in July of that year bore out some of the newspapers' predictions that such measures were on the way—at the same time as it showed up those who expected a bumper year for the British economy. The workers who had been earning the

mythically high wages found them under attack in the wages pause. There is some reason to think that the government realised that the pause could have only a limited usefulness—to hold down some wages for a comparatively short time—and that this object was achieved. This may or may not be true. What we should be concerned with here is the fact that wages never live up to the dreams which many workers have for them. They are never free of restriction.

Wage restraint

If we consider only the post-war history of this country, for example, we can see that whichever party has been in power has had a consistent policy of holding down wages. Sometimes this has been tried by exhortation, by appeals to the T.U.C., and so on. Sometimes it has been tried by measures like the Lloyd pause, with its deliberate going-back on the arbitration machinery which the government once said they held in such high regard. Sometimes it has been by a disguised cut in wages, as happened when the Labour government devalued the pound in 1949.

Wages are never all that workers wish them to be. They can never provide more than the wherewithal to recharge our energies so that we are ready for another bout of profit-making. If any of us look back on our lives and consider the wages which we have earned and spent, and if we look forward to the wages we expect to earn in the future, we shall know it is true that over a period of time the money we earn is generally just about enough to get us a living. This remains a fact as much for the times when there is not much chance of successful wage-pushing (such as before the war) as it does for the times when wage claims have a fair chance of success, such as we have had for most of the time since the war.

Yet how many workers' hopes for a brighter 1963 rest upon their expectations of a rise? And how many will be disappointed, by the inevitability of capitalism fighting rises, by the fact that their wages actually fall because they are on short time or are redundant, or because they get their rise and find that like so many which they have had before it is swallowed by rising prices?

Take now last January's SOCIALIST STANDARD, which was largely devoted to the Common Market. To many people—including some of capitalism's economic experts—the Common Market is the key to many problems. If Britain goes in, they argue, her industries will have access to an immense market into

which they can pump their goods. Factories over here will have to go full out to satisfy the demand. Everybody will be working which means, to most workers, that everybody will be happy. To those who take this view the future, if British capitalism joins, is rosy.

Last January we pointed out the falseness of this rosy outlook. "... those who think that the Common Market will end the workers' troubles are equally in error," we said, "... The European Common Market is not a different kind of capitalist entity—only a larger one." Perhaps some of our readers thought that we were crying sour grapes. Now read on.

Last December, Ministers of the twenty member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which covers North America and Western Europe, were meeting in Paris to discuss the prospects for the coming year. Were they absorbed in the problems of containing a great surge of prosperity during 1963? Did they find that they had to chew over the prospects of abundance and happiness flooding across Europe and America during the next twelve months? They did not. Reported *The Guardian* on 23rd November: "Experts agree that there may be a recession on both sides of the North Atlantic in 1963." If the experts are right (which has been known) we may be sure that the Common Market countries will feel the force of the slump. For, as we wrote last January, the European Economic Community has

not been able to solve the serious unemployment problem of at least one of its members. Italy then had 1,350,000 out of work—nearly seven per cent. of its working population, after having exported hundreds of thousands of its workers to other countries.

None of the economic organisations with which capitalism tries to sort out its muddles can have any effect upon the system's basic anarchies. The Common Market cannot stop slumps and unemployment. Neither can the other organisations like OECD, one of whose members—Canada—currently has seven per cent. of its labour force out of work. Yet how many hopes for a happier 1963 are based on the expectation of a secure job and the trust that capitalism can somehow provide this?

Prospects for 1963

Bluntly, the prospects for 1963 are no better than ever. We know that capitalism will give workers all over the world insecurity and unemployment. It will grind out poverty and restriction and condemn millions of people to live, drab, inadequate lives. It may even give us frights like Cuba. Whatever it brings, we know that when the next New Year comes around we shall still be hearing the same meaningless wishes. Perhaps, if we stretch a point, we can say that there is nothing so wrong in the wish in itself. The danger lies in its escapist implications, in the fact that although they may wish each other good fortune, the majority of workers solidly act all the time against their own interests—against, in fact, their own good wishes. It would be far better if they all began to work for what could be a really happier future.

Socialism will finish the insecurities and the anomalies which blight our lives from one end of the year to another. The best we can wish ourselves is that the world working class will get enough understanding of society to throw off the system which restricts and condemns them and replace it with one in which happiness and plenty are no longer an empty dream.

The inadequacies of capitalism will play their part in bringing them to this. So to our readers in the slums and the prefabs and in the other drab, poky working class homes; to the unemployed and to those who know that their living is insecure; to those who hate and fear war; to all those who wish and work for a world fit for humans to live in; and to those who will not misunderstand the wish; to all of these—a Happy New Year.

IVAN.

SPECTRE OF THE 1930'S

THE SIGHT of a demonstration marching through London demanding work is enough to shake anyone out of his complacency. For some years since the end of the Second World War, workers have regarded relatively full employment as a right, something that was here to stay. How wrong they were! Unemployment in November last topped the half million mark and was the worst figure in that month for over 20 years. And now we witness workless Merseysiders shouting slogans and waving banners. A spectre is haunting us—the spectre of the 1930's, the lean and hungry depression years.

How pathetic it is that an old problem has evoked only the same old stale and worthless ideas for its solution. If we pause for a moment and listen to the spokesmen for the marchers, we shall hear them demanding government action to stop the flow of industry southwards and to force more factories to the depressed areas. At best this will only remove the sting from the hopelessness of the unemployed Merseysider. Like most convenient cut and dried theories, it conveniently ignores the basic cause of the problem and, as we might expect, it is a stock line of the average Labour Party supporter.

In our capitalist society, industry goes where there is profit to be found. Nearness to raw materials, short lines of communication, plentiful supplies of suitable labour, easy access to markets, availability of cheap fuel and power—these are some of the main factors which decide the location of a factory and cause it perhaps to be moved elsewhere later on.

It is true, of course, that governments have also tried to move industry to fulfil political or strategic requirements, and since the end of the war firms have been encouraged to take their factories to the "development areas." During a period of boom when markets are buoyant and expanding, many companies are quite willing to operate from the more remote areas such as South Wales, Scotland and the North. They have a sellers' market and good profit margins. But what happens when the markets are tightening, goods are no longer easy to sell, and profit margins are shrinking? Why, production is curtailed, of course, and redundancy threatens.

"We want work"

Firms which have moved out of London and other big towns then start casting wistful eyes back home. Costs have become even more important and any method of reducing them is looked at carefully. It may be decided to concentrate production in one area instead of dispersing it over several areas as before. Although unemployment may appear earlier and be more acute in some parts than in others, it is a condition which will affect most areas if a depression deepens.

If a thriving industry is transferred to Merseyside from Surrey, it may provide work for some of Merseyside's unemployed, but the basic trouble has not been cured. It has merely been spread a bit more evenly, a few more workers looking for work in the South and a few less in the North. Capitalist politicians have been quick to notice that people generally tend to ignore the existence of a social problem if it is not too heavily concentrated, and this has been one factor influencing their post-war employment policies. But it is when a trade slump gets out of hand and unemployment figures soar into the millions that spreading-the-load theories take a back seat, and more varied and bizarre speculations are taken from the lumber room.

The problem of unemployment is rooted in our private property set up. The majority of the population—the workers—own little or no property and can get a living only by selling their energies to those who do own—the capitalists. Workers produce more than they receive in wages and it is this surplus, realised when the goods are sold, that belongs to the capitalist class. But the market is capricious, unpredictable, quite anarchic, despite all the market research by the bright young men of industry, and capitalists often find themselves faced with a falling market at the very time when they have planned for an increase in demand. Capitalism is, in fact, quite unplannable.

What then is to be done? At the risk of being called all sorts of names, we say that marches of the unemployed are of no value. Workers might just as well save their shoe leather and stay at home. That is one lesson at least which we should have learned from the 1930's. There is only one way to end such evils as unemployment, and that is by the world's workers understanding, desiring, and taking conscious political action to achieve a new social structure, based upon the common ownership of the means of living. This is Socialism.

There will be no unemployed marchers and no pro-capitalism Labour reformers. The working class have to make the choice. To ignore or oppose only means a continuance of the insanity of our times.

JACK LAW.

SOCIALIST STANDARD 1962

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Pilkington Report THE SPGB's STATEMENT

The Socialist Party of Great Britain has tried for a long time, without success, to persuade the broadcasting organisations to allow us to state our point of view on radio and television. Because of this, we were particularly interested in the section of the Pilkington Report which dealt with the time allowed on the air to minority organisations.

We submitted a statement to the committee which our readers may find of interest. As the Pilkington Report, in size and price, is intimidating enough to deter most people, we reproduce our statement below, as it appeared in an appendix to the Report.

1. The Socialist Party of Great Britain, on whose behalf this statement is submitted, is a political organisation, small in membership, but with a distinctive object and a continuous history over half a century or more of propaganda activity. Our purpose in submitting this statement is to draw the attention of the committee to the fact that in spite of repeated applications made during a period of over thirty years we have never been afforded the opportunity to state our distinctive case on radio or television in this country. Our companion organisations in certain other countries have fared better than we have here, and our own members on visits to the USA fairly easily obtain the opportunity denied to us in this country.

2. We have stated that we have never had the opportunity to explain the aims and policy of the Socialist Party of Great Britain on radio or television in this country. The importance of this to us is that these aims and policy have never been stated at all, since there is no organization except our own that is concerned to state them.

This will be appreciated when we explain that the Socialist Party of Great Britain is, and always has been, an entirely independent political party, not affiliated to or associated with any other political party in this country.

We do not, of course, admit the possibility that our case can be adequately stated by our political opponents.

3. Not having had members elected to Parliament, the Socialist Party of Great Britain has, of course, not been considered for controversial political broadcasting under the agreement made with the major political parties. Nor, in spite of attempts to secure such opportunities, has it been included in the controversial broadcasts of a round-table character as envisaged by the 1947 agreement on political broadcasting. (Page 8 in appendix H to the Report of the Broadcasting Committee, 1949).

We repeat, that no listener or viewer in this country has ever heard the case of SPGB explained on radio or television by us, nor heard its distinctive attitude expounded in relation to problems of the day.

4. The problem of giving minorities opportunities to state their case has, of course, been considered often. The Broadcasting Committee, 1949, touched on various aspects. For example, in Paragraph 257 they dealt with religious and other minorities and made what would appear to be a suggestion covering all minorities. Paragraph 257 says in part:—

We cannot do more than throw out for consideration of the government the suggestion that it might be reasonable to have something that may be held to correspond to a "Hyde Park" of the air, that is to say, an opportunity for all minorities who have messages, religious or other, on some occasion to put their messages over, not regularly or at length, but some time.

In paragraph 259 the Committee went on to say that the broadcasting authority, in allotting opportunity for ventilation of controversial views, should not be guided "either by simple calculation of the numbers who already hold such views, or by fear of giving offence to particular groups of listeners. Minorities must have the chance by persuasion of turning themselves into majorities."

5. Reference has already been made to the many fruitless applications we have made in the course of years. A number of applications were made between 1927 and the outbreak of war in 1939,

but we have no detailed particulars of those as these records were destroyed when our Head Office was bombed.

In general the replies we received then to our applications were of the same kind as those we received at later dates. We were not told that for some reason or other we would never be allowed an opportunity; but always that there were reasons why the request could not be acceded to at that time.

6. One of these several applications made by us to the BBC was on nineteenth August, 1953, when we mentioned that another small political organization had been given a short space of broadcasting time. (See Appendix 1 for the correspondence about that application.)

The reply of the BBC explained, as we already knew, that we did not qualify under the party political broadcast agreement. It also described the other broadcast to which we referred as having been included on the ground of "programme interest and attractiveness."

To this we replied that what we wanted, on the lines of the suggestion of the 1949 committee, was an opportunity to state the controversial point of view of our Party.

In 1954 we submitted a statement drawn up, as far as we were able, on lines suggested by the BBC for inclusion in one of their programmes, but we were told on 21st April, 1954, that it was not of a kind that offered a basis for a broadcast.

Even if it had been considered suitable it would, of course, have fallen short of an opportunity for us to state our case.

7. Reference has already been made to experience in the USA. Members of the SPGB on visits to the USA and Canada have had several opportunities of stating our case in TV and Radio interviews, including half an hour of questions and answers on a popular TV programme in Los Angeles, ten minutes on Radio at Vancouver, an interview on another occasion on TV in Los Angeles and another on Radio at Vancouver.

In addition our companion party in the USA can obtain opportunity to

make its views known on radio, as for example, recently in Boston.

8. It may be said that the inability of the SPGB to be able to state its case even once in over thirty years has not been due to a policy which results in the exclusion or neglect of minority points of view, but has been due to programme difficulties facing the controlling authorities. To such a suggestion we must point out that from the standpoint of giving expression to our minority point of view, we have been totally excluded just as we would have been if

there had been a policy of exclusion.

9. We have been no more successful with ITV than with the BBC and an incident that occurred in 1958 will illustrate the kind of problem that arises. On 10th February, 1958, in an ITV lecture, a statement was made which, as reported to us, was to the effect that all Socialist parties supported the 1914-18 war. As the SPGB did not support the war we wrote to those responsible asking that the lecturer should defend or support his statement and that we be allowed facilities to state our position. From Asso-

ciated Television Ltd., we received a reply stating that the remarks made were not quite correctly reported by us (but without giving their version) and referring us to the lecturer, who, we were assured, would be making any reply which was appropriate.

We wrote to the lecturer drawing his attention to our complaint, but did not receive a reply.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

CND Out of touch with reality

WHEN INDIA'S Prime Minister Mr. Nehru decided to prepare by all possible means for what he said might be a war against China lasting for years, he admitted that under pressure of events he and the Indian government had abandoned their long-held policy. He said that for years they had been "out of touch with reality," and the Chinese invasion had shocked them all out of "the artificial atmosphere of our creation." For years Nehru had been chiding other governments for their reliance on arms and the waging of war—now he was calling on the Indian workers to emulate the action of the British Government in 1940 of building up armaments after the evacuation of Dunkirk. He appealed to the American and British governments, hitherto the objects of his rebukes, to supply arms to India.

It was not only Nehru who suffered a shock to his beliefs, but also CND, for to them Nehru's line had been a favourite example of the kind of policy governments ought to pursue. CND like Nehru has been out of touch with reality. To them armaments (including nuclear weapons) and wars, are simply the result of the governments having wrong policies: so what could be easier than for the British Government to give up its reliance on nuclear weapons and its association with governments having nuclear weapons, and set an example, which other governments would follow, of peaceful co-existence. Now CND has seen, not the Western governments following the example supposed to have been set by Nehru, but Nehru following the example of the governments which CND said were wrong. He is appealing

for help to governments which have nuclear weapons. It is worth noting exactly how unrealistic CND was.

The following is taken from the CND leaflet *Why We Are Marching*, issued at Easter, 1962, for the Aldermaston march:

Millions of thinking people reject the government's Defence policy. Behind that looms the vast and immoral folly of the H-Bomb. That is why we are marching from Aldermaston where Britain's H-Bombs are made, to London where our government makes decisions which spell life and death for us all.

We want Britain to give a lead: by renouncing nuclear tests, weapons, bases and policies. By aligning herself with the uncommitted nations in pressing for disarmament. By using the resources freed to fight world hunger, disease and poverty.

Now CND sees the chief uncommitted government, Nehru's, preparing the country for war and turning resources away from civilian uses to the production of armaments and the organising of armies. Steel plants are turning over to the production of armoured plates for tanks; fertiliser factories are changing over to the production of strategic goods; motor plants are turning out jeeps; warships are being built and the air force expanded. The Bombay correspondent of the *Financial Times* (11/12/62) reports:

India's Third Five-Year Plan is being geared to meet the needs of the country's defence. A "war complexion" has already been given to the Ministry of Steel and heavy industries. Producers in both public and private sectors have been asked to go ahead with the requirements of the

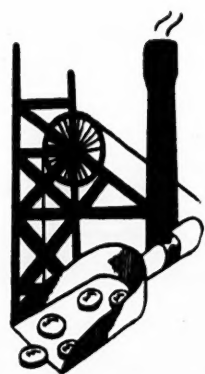
Defence Ministry.

Thus does capitalist reality catch up with well-meant illusions. Capitalism is by nature expansionist and predatory, no matter that particular governments call their capitalism "socialism" (India and China both fall into this category). Privilege and profit for the ruling class is the aim, and the armed forces to hold and extend markets and control of sources of raw materials, are the means. Armed force is a capitalist necessity both to protect the propertied class against their own dispossessed and for use against rival capitalist interests.

While the dramatic somersault of India's government highlights the unreality of CND the reality has been there for them to see all along. The Indian government was "uncommitted" in the sense of choosing not to join up with the American or Russian power blocs, but that was all: in every other respect it behaved like all the other governments. About a third of the central government expenditure has been on the armed forces ever since India got rid of British rule. The amount has been growing more or less steadily year by year. In 1960-1 it reached about £225 million—now it will rise still more. And, such is the contradictory nature of capitalism, that thousands of desperately poor among the unemployed will get work they otherwise could not find.

The moral of this is clear. War is not in the interest of the working class anywhere, but the remedy is not the unreality of asking capitalism to behave differently but the Socialist policy of getting rid of capitalism which causes war.

H.



FINANCE AND INDUSTRY

The Planning Myth

The crowning delusion of present day politics is the belief that capitalism can be planned. Labourites in particular imagine that by a judicious use of financial checks and stimuli the ups and downs of the system can be eliminated.

When the economy is booming, for example, what simpler than to apply the brakes a little to save the boom getting out of hand? And when it looks like dropping into a slump could anything be easier than to inject some extra fuel into the engine to keep it ticking over and eventually get it turning faster again?

The Tories are now faced with the second problem: the economy is in trouble and could go from bad to worse. What better than adopt the economists' solution and get things moving again by encouraging the capitalists to invest and the consumer to buy more? So industry has been tempted to expand by increased investment allowances, consumers to buy by a reduced purchase tax on cars, and the economy generally to get into top gear again by easier and freer loans from the banks.

But unfortunately for the planners, they are not seated at a switchboard pulling levers and turning knobs. They are dealing with human beings, with capitalists having to live with capitalism. It sounds the easiest thing in the world to get capitalists to buy more plant and machinery by giving them better tax allowances; the only thing that has been forgotten is that the actions of company chairmen and boards of directors are not governed by concern over production as such, but over whether the products can make them profit. And this is where all the wonderful efforts of the planners come unstuck.

They come unstuck because all the encouragement in the world, even if it takes the form of government financial incentive, will cut no ice with a capitalist who has to think first and foremost of selling his products in a market that becomes more and more competitive. What is the use to him of improved investment allowances for new plant if his chief worry is whether he will be able to sell the goods produced by his extra machines?

All the recent efforts of the Government to stimulate the economy have in

fact been useless. The capitalists have not rushed to invest in new machinery; people have not fallen over themselves to buy more cars; and the banks have not been swamped by demands for loans.

A good example of this new attitude of caution has been the recent decision of the steel firm, Stewarts and Lloyds, not to proceed with plans for their new iron-making plant at Corby. After saying that the change of policy comes only a few weeks after the Chancellor of the Exchequer's announcement on special tax incentives, the *Guardian* commented that it

... reinforces the general belief that a real revival of industrial capital expenditure will only set in when companies can see increasing demand for their products ahead.

In other words, planners and governments may propose. But it is capitalism that will dispose.

Wrong again

Our planners have recently been made to look foolish in another sphere.

Bemused by the experts' tales of the glittering prospects of power from atomic energy, successive governments have built seven immense power stations in this country at a cost of about £500 million. It is now reckoned that no less than £350 million of this has been uselessly spent.

The reasons?

First, the experts thought that coal would stay as scarce as it was in the days of chronic shortage after the war. They were wrong, so wrong that large areas of the countryside were being covered with embarrassingly large stocks of the stuff last year.

Second, the experts thought it would remain dear. Instead, mechanisation has made it relatively cheap compared with other fuels. They also overlooked that other countries also produce coal, often more cheaply than in this country. The United States, in particular, is now exporting large quantities of coal to Britain's European competitors at prices that have just forced this country to reduce its coal costs.

Third, they made no allowance for increased oil production which has also come down in price so as to make it sharply competitive with atomic energy.

In short, the atomic power stations built at such colossal expense have proved to be hopelessly uneconomic, and the experts and planners hopelessly wrong on almost every point of importance. Most damning of all, they apparently persisted with their wrong plans and policies when it had become abundantly clear that they were wrong.

Still more waste

A few months ago the British Government shamefacedly reported that something like £150 million had been lost on Blue Streak, this country's nuclear missile. They need not have worried incidentally: the news was received with hardly a murmur.

Now comes the news that the Americans have wasted something like the same amount on their air-launched missile, though they are hardly disposed to go on spending more. President Kennedy let us know that the original sum set aside for this project was a staggering £1,000 million, so that £800 remained to be spent before second thoughts set in.

This is yet one more horrifying reminder of the vast quantities of society's wealth that are being uselessly squandered on war preparations. All the nations under capitalism, big and small, devote fantastic proportions of their resources on these activities, at the same time as two-thirds of the world's population go hungry, large numbers have no roof over their heads, millions die early of disease which could be prevented given the resources to deal with it.

Instead, there will be a lot of high level diplomatic wrangling between the representatives of British and American capitalism, eventually settled by some sort of mutually acceptable compromise, and the whole affair will be forgotten.

American capitalism will in the meantime proceed to write off the £180 million as the fleabite it is in their total outlay on destruction and the preparations for it.

S. H.

WHAT ARE WAGES

THE VALUE of the commodity human labour power is determined by the cost of reproducing the worker's expended skill and energy and, also, of reproducing future wage workers. On the average, wages equal this value.

However, in different countries, according to circumstances, the value of labour power varies. In the lesser developed countries we find, as a rule, a lower standard of living and therefore a lower value than in more advanced industrialised areas. Important factors in the more developed areas are a greater consciousness in workers, and organised arrangements for the protection and advancement of their interests.

Wages are not, as some people think, the workers' share of the wealth they produce. Capitalism is not a national share-holding concern. Let it be clear—Capital is wealth used in the reproduction of wealth in order to realise profit. Variable capital, the wages fund, together with constant capital, are both in existence before the act of production takes place. The workers' labour power is bought by the capitalists and is used to create wealth. The worker, having worked, has a legal claim to the agreed wage. A sale and purchase have taken place and no question of shares arises. Shares are exclusively for the owners and shareholders, and they come from the surplus value wrung from workers.

Wages must be considered from three aspects. The first, nominal wages, or the actual amount of money paid; second, relative wages, i.e., the proportion of wages paid to the total wealth produced; third is the actual purchasing power of wages—real wages.

The basic conflict between the two classes, capitalists and workers, shows mainly in the first two aspects (wages and profits). Provided that other factors remain constant, an increase in one must cause a decrease in the other. In this, the productive sphere, the social relations are direct between owners and producers (employers and workers) regarding rates of pay and conditions of labour. The amounts of nominal and relative wages are determined here.

We can now consider briefly the conflict between wages and profits. To begin with, let us assume a weekly wage of

£10 for a 40 hours week and a rate of exploitation of 100 per cent. An increase of five per cent. in wages would enable the workers, other factors remaining constant, to get 10s. p.w. more for the same quantity of labour. His standard of living is improved and the necessary labour time increased, while surplus labour time is reduced. The rate of exploitation is reduced from 100 to 95 per cent. and the relative wage now represents 55 per cent. of the total product as against the former 50 per cent. A reduction in the working week may also be beneficial for workers; they may obtain the same pay for less work.

The above situation is a most unpleasant one for the capitalist. In the first instance it means an increase of 5 per cent. in his variable capital. It reduces his surplus labour time and his surplus value. The rates of exploitation and profit have also fallen. But although temporarily defeated, the capitalist is undaunted and adamant. He is well aware of his excellent facilities for recovery.

It is quite possible, and it frequently happens, that increased wages or reduced working hours can be offset by a fall in relative wages. This can be brought about, for example, by increased production as a result of better organisation and supervision, etc. The introduction of more efficient machinery and the displacement of labour is another way. An increase in output of 6 per cent. would in some ways offset the five per cent. increase in pay or the reduction of hours. In such conditions, although the nominal wage is higher, the relative wage is lower. More wealth is being produced for slightly less pay.

Other means by which earnings may be increased as distinct from increased rates of pay are, overtime, piece work, or bonus on output systems. These methods entail longer hours of labour, or more intensive labour, or both. Increased earnings in such cases are at the expense of extra sweat and toil and in these conditions workers cannot increase their earnings without increasing the profit of their masters. The working classes' only gain, if such it can be called, is in having the rates of pay increased or the hours of labour reduced. The struggle between wages and profits is unending

and the employers are as a rule better placed.

Social evolution has produced three distinct forms of exploiting societies. In chattel slavery men were owned bodily. In feudalism, the serf, semi-free, was compelled to provide a certain proportion of his labour for the overlord. In both cases the surplus was easy to see. But modern wage labour, unlike the other two, appears to be fully-paid. In all three systems men were, and are, deprived of the fruits of their toil by an owning class. Private ownership of the means of production and control of the ability of men to work has enabled the ruling classes, in all cases, to own the wealth produced.

Slaves, serfs and proletarians all had to obtain food, clothing and shelter. This subsistence differed in amount, quality and kind in the different periods. Today the wage worker is legally "free." Socially he is compelled to sell his ability to work in order to live. But he may select where and to whom he will sell it—in theory only!

Capitalism is the highest and most efficient form of exploiting society and its wages system conceals to a great extent the legalised robbery of its wealth producers. The separation of labour power from labour is responsible for the appearance that workers' wages are the full value of their labour. The fact that the value of the embodied labour may be £20 or more, and wages £10 or less, is not so evident.

High wages and low prices, security, and a happy, prosperous and carefree working class, are illusory. A fair day's wage for a fair day's work is a fallacy. The abolition of capitalism with its wages system is an indispensable task for the workers. Working men and women can only attain their freedom, independence, and control of the wealth they produce, in a Socialist system of society. Production to satisfy human needs as distinct from privileged greed, is the Socialist object.

J. H.

★ QUESTIONS OF THE DAY (1/3 post paid)

HONOUR & TRUTH

Honesty in Politics

RECENTLY A SMALL storm was raised by Mr. R. H. S. Crossman, Labour M.P. for Coventry, by an article in *The Guardian* in which he wrote that it is hypocrisy to condemn politicians for their lies and deceptions; the condemnation should rest on their policy itself, not on the practices which surround the policy:

The truth is that in politics there come occasions when honourable men are bound to practice deception and tell lies, and any hypocrites will impugn their personal integrity when things go wrong and they are caught red-handed. (*The Guardian*, 2/11/62.)

He took to task Lord Home, who had smugly claimed that the Russian deception over the Cuba missiles "showed that the Free World could not afford to take anything from the Soviet Union on trust." Crossman recalled that just six years earlier Eden "was trying to conceal the concerted Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Nasser from the Americans, under a fantastic mixture of evasions, half-truths, and breaches of solemn commitments," and among those who shared responsibility for this attempt "to deceive our American allies" was the present Prime Minister.

Of course, government and politics are riddled with lies and deceptions, but many people hate to accept it, like the reader of *The Guardian*, who could hardly believe that Crossman really meant what he said: "... have I misunderstood? I have always assumed it axiomatic that honour and truth are indivisible even in politics."

A couple of other examples of lies in politics made the news within a few weeks of Crossman's article. Mr. Sylvester, United States Assistant Secretary of Defence, admitted that news was "generated" by the American government during the Cuban crisis and "was used successfully" and that his government would continue to use "news" to further its foreign policy. "I think the inherent right of the government to lie to save itself when faced with nuclear disaster is basic." (*Times*, 8/12/62.)

The other example concerned United Nations and its late Secretary-General's statements and actions during the Congo-Katanga dispute. It cannot be doubted, said the *Sunday Telegraph*, "that the statement issued from Leopoldville at

the time, while Hammarskjöld himself was there, was a complete fabrication. In trying to give the impression that the fighting was merely part of an attempt to complete the expulsion of 'mercenaries,' an imaginary story was concocted that was quite at variance with the only facts then known. . . ."

(*Sunday Telegraph*, 18/11/62.)

The practice of public lying is so widespread that the readers of *The Guardian* can hardly believe that it does not exist, but he possibly does believe that it could and should be got rid of. What chance is there of this!

Speak the truth

Probably every child born into the world is told by parents, teachers and others that he or she ought to speak the truth. Certainly it is difficult to imagine any of them being told that it is their duty always to refrain from speaking the truth.

But they are also taught to be selective about it, and if not so taught, they soon discover it for themselves. They learn to dissemble, to keep their mouths shut on occasion, to put a gloss on things and generally to avoid the trouble that would ensue for them and those around them if they went about all day long blaring what they believe to be the truth. By the time they are grown up they will have found that it is a very tricky business to steer a safe course through the permitted truths and the compulsory lies. Though they will still be told by governments, employers, newspaper proprietors and church leaders that truth is sacred, they will be in trouble if, for example, as salesmen, they tell the customers what sort of rubbish it is they are selling, and that the owner of the goods simply wants their money and as much profit as possible. They will also have to realise that a passion for disclosing the truth will not save them from action for libel or slander, or from the Official Secrets Act. They will have it forcibly impressed on them that though some lies are punished as perjury, other lies are officially required of them.

In war-time the somewhat haphazard private-enterprise peace-time lying gets

properly organised and comes into its own, as was entertainingly described by the late Lord Ponsonby in his *Falsehood in War-time*, a book published in 1928, dealing with the massive official lie-machines of the first world war. When a government decides to go to war lying to its own population about themselves and about the enemy is an important weapon of war. It helps to inflame patriotic passions and make them readier to kill and be killed. Ponsonby put on record a fascinating selection of the war-time "propaganda truths" subsequently proved to have been bareface lies and in some instances deliberate and cold-blooded inventions—like the official story spread all over the world that the Germans were boiling down corpses to make lubricating oil and other products to serve the war effort. Most of the examples in the book were taken from the British and allied propaganda efforts, but Ponsonby had no illusions, he knew that war-time official lying is universal. He also knew that he could disclose these things only when the war was over. He would certainly not have been able to publish the book and get it widely circulated while the war was on.

Moreover, while war-fever was at its height most people would not have been in a fit state of mind to accept his disclosures. It was only in the somewhat more sober atmosphere after the war that they would listen. He quoted John Bright:

You will find wars are supported by a class of argument which, after the war is over, the people find were arguments they should never have listened to.

Ponsonby also knew that "lying . . . does not take place only in war-time," and he commented on the fact that while the habit of lying is common, man's habit of lying "is not nearly so extraordinary as his amazing readiness to believe. It is indeed, because of human credulity that lies flourish."

This credulity is the crux of the matter. How can the suckers escape being taken in by the confidence men? How can workers break out of the confusion of the social system based on their exploitation? Knowledge and understanding are the only sure answer, together with the culti-

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CONFLICT

INDIA AND CHINA

THE HOSTILITIES between India and China have helped to jolt the complacency of many Labourites and other social reformers who had relied on India to act as a bulwark of peaceful neutralism. The current incidents must be the last nail driven into the coffin that contains their hopes of everlasting peace, for the development of Capitalism certainly has a way of catching out its supporters!

The Indian diplomatic notes to China have a scholarly legal flavour. They say that the Indian Government inherited the MacMahon boundary line from the British administration and this the Chinese should respect. But the notes fail to mention that when the British left India, they gave the option to the native states to join either India or Pakistan or remain free. Only Hyderabad, in Central India, and Kashmir hesitated. The Indian Government took both of these areas by force. Again in 1961 India marched her troops into Goa and annexed it, despite the fact that for 500 years Goa had had its own, separate history. It is obvious that mealy-mouthed

continued from previous page)

vation of a critical attitude of mind to the unceasing streams of interested sales-talk and propaganda. Cut away the trimmings, the charms and oratorical skill of the speaker, and get down to a critical examination of the argument and evidence. Don't accept assertions and promises on some supposed infallibility attaching to the source from which they come. Above all, examine the case against the propaganda of the governments, ruling class groups, and the propertied class. They are interested parties and the interests they are concerned with are not those of the working class.

Notice that, almost unique among propaganda bodies, the SPGB has open meetings, anyone can attend our Executive Committee meetings, conferences, etc., and anyone can ask questions and claim the right to put opposition at our propaganda meetings. This is our own safeguard, and yours—that what we say is true.

Lies, suppression, distortion and secrets do not serve the interests of the workers of the world but the interests only of their exploiters.

H.

legalistic arguments are only used when it suits the Indian Capitalist Government.

The Chinese Government says that the MacMahon line was drawn up by the British when the Chinese Government was weak. They claim that they are no mere successors to the old regime; they repudiate the idea of two Asian powers being bound by international law over an agreement to which they were not parties. "Let us decide the boundaries for ourselves," say the Chinese who are in possession of the territory in dispute, possession being reckoned as nine-tenths of the law.

Meanwhile, the winter is likely to prevent any further military action by either side. The Chinese, however, have prepared for their aggression by building supply roads in their rear connecting with bases in Tibet, whilst the Indians only have the use of mere tracks through very difficult terrain. Furthermore, the Indian military forces (those so-called guardians of neutralism) have been pinned down in activities against Pakistan within their own borders.

But after mentioning an exchange of words, we should then deal with the underlying economic motives, which form the basic reasons of much military action. Neither side is particularly concerned about a few miles of mountainous terrain, but with any further Chinese advance the India-dominated kingdoms of Nepal and Bhutan are likely to fall, together with some of the other frontier states, into the Chinese sphere of influence.

Nepal, for instance, is in internal ferment. The previous ruling class there—the Rana clique—were thrown out by the Government of the present King Mahendra with the help of India, whose capitalist class covet the Nepalese market for their manufactures (including military supplies). But the rising Nepalese nationalists have their own interests to safeguard, and this border has been a cock-pit for the contending Indian and Nepalese supporters. On October 5th the Nepalese Ambassador in London said that Nepal's patience with India was at breaking point. These words bring back memories of Hitler, who also said much the same just before the last European War. It would probably suit the Nepalese trading interests to have China on their doorstep, so that they can get whatever they can from both sides. At pre-

sent 99 per cent. of Nepal's imports are from India and 94 per cent. of her exports, mostly raw materials, go to India.

But there is more than that involved, for by forcing India into a state of panic and emergency the Chinese have wrecked India's five-year plan for the time being. The plan's industrial reorganization and development promise to be a threat to Chinese interests. Meanwhile, the Chinese population expands every year by the equivalent of the population of Belgium and industrial progress continues unchecked.

Incidentally, the Chinese are not the first Government to realise that a foreign military adventure distracts the attention of workers from their own domestic troubles, one of which—the food crisis—has become urgent with the failure of successive crops.

There is an incidental lesson to learn from this little war—the State Capitalism of Russia behaves like the older Capitalism of Great Britain.

While Great Britain is protesting her friendship for India, she is shipping all supplies possible to China, through the back door of Hongkong. Likewise, "Communist" Russia, for all her "comradeship" with "Communist" China, is the supplier of the M.I.G.'s and probably other military equipment used by the Indians to slaughter the Chinese. Wherever we look in capitalism, business is business.

The war in India is no doubt just a part of a Chinese master plan, for the surging capitalism of China must either expand or burst, even though such expansion is done in the names of liberation, and fraternity. Hence the expansion of China's sphere of influence into Korea, Mongolia, Vietnam, Laos, Tibet, and now the Indian border States. These are just milestones in the long march of Chinese Imperialism as it bursts bonds and expands across Asia. We can expect many more milestones yet, many more dead and maimed, many more refugees, now that the giant capitalism of China is awake and on the move. Here we see another bloodstained chapter of world history in the making, but there is nothing in it for the workers concerned. The fruits of victory will not be theirs—only the bloodstains.

F. O.

The **WESTERN SOCIALIST**
Journal for Socialism
in the
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January 1913

TRAFFIC PROBLEMS

Truly the motor is everywhere, but on the crowded roads of the metropolis its presence and speed have raised a problem for which the multitudinous highway authorities seek in vain a solution.

To such a pass have things come that the attitude of the average motorist is practically that the roads are his property, and that all others are trespassers, to be hooted off.

... the sinister result of modern traffic conditions has a deeper meaning than is realised or expressed by commentators in the Press. It signifies the growing pace and intensity of industrial life, the universal acceleration of production, and the decreasing value of the life of the worker when put in the balance against the pleasure or profit of the class that owns the country. The huge and increasing size of industrial centres, and the greater distances between the workers' homes and the factory, the need for more quickly transferring labour, the greed of the rack renter of the central districts, the knowledge that the workers' time is money to the capitalists, the rush for profits of a transport trust, and the all-pervading atmosphere of hustle, recklessness, and speed is engendered by capitalist greed and the ever-increasing world-wide competition—all these are symptoms of the deep-lying social malady.

But so long as class ownership remains, for just so long will the long list of killed and maimed continue fail grow, and all remedial measures fail to keep pace with the break-neck speeding up of our daily tasks.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD
January 1913.

BOOKS

The Flight to Varennes

THE FLIGHT TO VARENNES, by Alexandre Dumas (first English Edition). Alston Books, 15s.

ALEXANDRE DUMAS, one of the most famous and prolific of nineteenth century dramatic writers, was beloved of the Victorian reader. His many novels, plays and travel books were in constant demand to while away the hours spent in travel on the new railways or during the long winter evenings, before such things as the gramophone, the radio, and more recently television appeared on the scene.

Dumas himself was a product of the railway age. An age of constant and disturbing change, of an optimistic faith in progress, mixed with a nostalgic yearning for an idealized past. The book opens with the sentence:—

Thanks to the railways, we unfailingly arrive at our destinations; indeed we get there quicker than ever, but we no longer travel.

Similar complaints are heard today about air travel, while we also look with nostalgia on the steam and clatter of the fast disappearing Iron Horse, just as Dumas pined for the clatter of horses' hooves on dusty roads.

Nineteenth century France, like Britain, was finally emerging as a world power and also like Britain it needed to dream up a great and heroic past. So Capitalism, with its poverty and squalor, its ruthless exploitation and bitter discontent, was clothed in the trappings of Empire, and such works as the *Three Musketeers* and the *Count of Monte Cristo* were eagerly read. Like Scott and Ainsworth in Britain, Dumas wrote well; but his style is no longer popular and his readership has declined in the last few decades. Nevertheless his books are ideal material for plays and films, and adaptations from his novels have appeared on television. Often these have little connection with the originals, apart from the title. Cops and robbers in Renaissance costume.

What is not generally known is that Dumas wrote sometimes as an historian. *The Flight to Varennes*, published for the first time in English by Alston Books, is one of his historical works. Published first in a weekly paper, as was much nine-

teenth century writing, it describes what is perhaps the most well known incident of the French Revolution; the attempt of the French Royal Family to reach the Netherlands.

Paris in the summer of 1791 was a place of confusion, unrest and brooding violence. Two years had passed since the fall of the Bastille, but the problems mounted. France had become a Constitutional Monarchy; legislation had flowed from the Constituent Assembly in a never ending stream; and the Assembly had voted the Declaration of the Rights of Man. But harvests had been bad and food prices had rocketed. Political factions struggled for power and broadsheets poured from the presses, while behind them all stood the armed bands of Paris. Meanwhile the governments of Europe, fearful lest revolutionary ideas should spread, were massing troops on the borders of France, ready for armed intervention. It was to join these forces in the Austrian Nether-



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lands that was the aim of the attempted flight.

The venture was doomed from the start. Generations of isolation in absolute power, had produced a mentality incapable of grasping change.

But neither the King nor the Queen realised fully how much times had changed. Marie Antoinette had had many new dresses specially made, her favourite hairdresser (the fantastic Léonard) was sent ahead to the frontier and so was her magnificent inlaid Nécessaire; and two lady's maids travelled with the Queen.

... and the flight was made not in light carriages, quick and inconspicuous, but in a great specially-made and luxuriously-appointed berlin, drawn by six horses and accompanied by three liveried bodyguards.

As we write, a meeting of Students is taking place in a Swansea College protesting against the situation in Cuba. Two of the students have commenced a hunger strike campaign.

We have no way of knowing who you are, your personal hopes, your disappointments and your fears. This we do know, however, there are a considerable number of you at the moment agitating and demonstrating in a variety of ways up and down the country on issues of greater or lesser seriousness. Sometimes it is a demand for a college bar (as recently in one of the Welsh Colleges), or to reserve the right to visit your girl friends in their private rooms. At other times, together with your friends in industry, you demonstrate your views quite forcibly on matters of world-reaching importance by sit-down demonstrations and marches (accompanied by a variety of musical instruments) for the abolition of the hydrogen bomb. Though some of you have not yet been thrown on to the Labour Market you have already been active in demanding better grants and better treatment for young workers and workers in training.

These activities have been met with a variety of reactions from the August Bodies concerned, from College Governors to the police and even the Government. Sometimes, your outbursts are met with a show of good-natured tolerance (though it is most difficult at times for a police officer, an M.P. or a college Rector to remain friendly with his face covered in soot or a stream of

The amazing thing is that they got as far as they did.

Dumas traces the journey from its bungling start on the night of June 21st to its farcical end in Varennes, when in a melodramatic scene that could have been invented for a film, a waggon of furniture was overturned on a bridge, to prevent the fugitives from reaching the Royalist troops waiting on the other side. He also traces their return to a hostile Paris that was prevented from an explosion of mob violence with only the greatest difficulty.

A year later the Insurrection of Paris, with its savage butchery, was to sweep away the monarchy and usher in the bloody dictatorship of the Jacobins.

L. DALE.

TO A YOUNG READER

egg-yolk running down his person). At times Authority, older and more experienced than yourselves, is forced to be more persuasive. But whichever it is you are as heartily sick of the figurative part on the back as you are of the more tangible tap on the head which has been inflicted on your comrades in areas as wide apart as Wales, Scotland, Europe, America—and Russia.

It is here that the Socialist Party can be of help. It is not our wish to lecture to you, neither to admonish nor to praise—but to offer. We would point out a fact or two which we are sure can be understood by you all, whether you are a product of the Secondary Modern School or a student at a University.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain has no desire to add itself to the number of your leaders. We have never even had a Young People's Section of our Party as the Communists, Liberal, Labour and Tory Parties have. Nevertheless, we are not back slapping or head patting when we say that you—the young people of Britain and the world—are the hope of the future. Without your present and future labour power, capitalism has no future.

We seek your understanding and co-operation in the biggest of all projects, not to fight for the abolition of this or that, or the amelioration of that or the other, but for a complete revolution in our social system. Capitalism took the idealism of your fathers and covered it with the mire of two great wars. It took their young bodies and shattered them for its narrow interests. It continues to poison the Earth with Atomic dust: it

CORRECTION.

In the November SOCIALIST STANDARD, in the article "What is Value?" an error in transcription unfortunately altered the meaning of the text. The sentence we refer to read:

Social labour, whether simple or complex, measures, in time, from the smallest fractions upwards.

This sentence should have read:

Social labour measures, in time, from the smallest fraction upwards, simple or complex labour.

We offer our apologies for any confusion which this mistake may have caused.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

continues to cloud your vision with falsehoods wrapped up in sentiment and cheap patriotism. It will, if necessary, throw you in conflict against your brothers of other lands.

We suggest you spend an hour or so with the SOCIALIST STANDARD. Get in touch with any Socialist near to hand and start discussing. Lastly, if you have any questions which you would like us to deal with in detail, write and ask us. Our members are always willing to come to address you at your clubs and colleges, or anywhere else.

Let's hear from you. We shall both benefit from the experiment, and we shall be pleased to print a selection of your views and criticisms in our columns.

W. B.

BRANCH NEWS—continued from page 16

Lewisham Branch is continuing with their winter propaganda. So far they have held eight indoor lectures. Literature sales totalled £2 14s. 4d. and collections £17 2s. 10d., with an average audience of 20.

The challenge to opponents to put their case at Lewisham Town Hall drew an audience of 40. The meeting was well reported in the local press (*Kentish Mercury*) under the heading "Major parties steer clear of Political Challenge".

Final arrangements are being made for a debate with the Liberal Party on February 15th at Lewisham Town Hall at 8 p.m. A challenge has again been extended to the local CND to debate on January 16th, also at the Lewisham Town Hall, time 7.45 p.m.

The branch has so far made two new members as a direct result of the lectures.

P. H.

Branch News



Excellent work was done during October and November in the Glasgow **Woodside By-Election**. The campaign commenced with canvassing the **SOCIALIST STANDARD**. This produced good results. Some members were disappointed that sales did not reach the results of the Municipal election in Kelvingrove last April. This was probably due to the time of year and bad weather. However, 307 **SOCIALIST STANDARDS** and 57 pamphlets were sold. When the election campaign really got going 18,500 manifestos were distributed also 500 leaflets introducing the Party. Six indoor meetings were held in addition to outdoor meetings. Glasgow Branch were pleased by the large amount of press publicity, although they regretted that the candidate's remarks were not always correctly reported. Radio and television reportage was good although the time allowed was very restricted. 83 votes were polled for the Socialist Party of Great Britain and a quote on the result from the Glasgow Herald (23/11/62) stated: "With 83 votes to his credit, Mr. Valler of the Socialist Party of Great Britain was not downhearted. 'There are,' he announced proudly '83 politically mature people in Woodside'".

Glasgow Branch learned much from the campaign and their experience will help them when they next contest an election in Glasgow. The Branch are grateful to comrades, other branches and the London members (who went up to help on the spot) for their financial and physical help.

Wembley Branch has continued with its steady and persistent efforts to spread the Socialist case. Regular canvasses of the **SOCIALIST STANDARD** are still being conducted and members are kept busy following up the fresh sales.

Three film shows were held during 1962 and more are planned for the New Year. The Branch met the Wembley South Young Socialists (Labour Party Youth Section) on two occasions, and very worthwhile discussions took place. It is hoped to pay them a return visit. On the lighter side, this year's Xmas Social was held again at South Ealing with the usual get-together of members and friends.

continued bottom page 15

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. B. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London, E.C.1

Meetings

GLASGOW MEETINGS

Woodside Halls, Clarendon Street
Sundays, 7.30 pm

INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

January 6th
THE RAILWAY CRISIS
Speaker: E. Darroch

January 13th
INFLATION: DOES IT MATTER?
Speaker: T. A. Mulheron

January 20th
THE FUTURE OF KING COAL
Speaker: T. Jones

January 27th
COMBINES, CARTELS AND CAPITALISM
Speaker: R. Donnelly

WEMBLEY LECTURES
Barham Old Court, Barham Park,
Harrow Road, Wembley
Mondays, 8 pm

January 7th
TRENDS IN THE POLITICS OF YOUTH
Speaker: E. Grant

January 21st
THE KIBBUTZ MOVEMENT
Speaker: J. Keys

CAMBERWELL LECTURE
52 Clapham High Street, SW4

Monday, January 7th, 8 pm
SOCIALISM AND RACIALISM
Speaker: J. Millen

BETHNAL GREEN MEETING
Bethnal Green Town Hall, Cambridge
Heath Road, E2

Wednesday, January 9th, 8 pm
FOOD AND POPULATION
Speaker: D. Zucconi

Bristol Debate with the Communist Party
"WHICH WAY TO SOCIALISM"
Friday, January 25th, 7.30 pm
The Old Duke, King Street, Bristol

SUNDAY MEETINGS, 8 pm Head Office, 52 Clapham High St, SW4

January 13th	FEUDALISM	Speaker: V. Phillips
January 20th	CAPITALISM	Speaker: E. Hardy
January 27th	SOCIALISM	Speaker: T. Fahy

EALING FILMS

Windsor Hall, Windsor Road, W5
(2 mins Ealing Broadway)
Fridays, 8 pm

January 11th
"LET THERE BE BREAD" AND "FISHING GROUNDS OF THE WORLD"

January 25th
"CATTLE AND THE CORNBELT"

LEWISHAM LECTURES

Co-Op Hall, Room 1, Davenport
Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6
Mondays, 8 pm

January 7th
WORLD TRADE

January 14th
FOOD AND POPULATION

January 21st
THE COMMON MARKET

January 28th
WORLD CAPITALISM

PADDINGTON LECTURES

The Royal Oak, York Street,
Marylebone Road, W1
Wednesdays, 8.30 pm

January 2nd
DEVELOPMENT OF THE MUSIC HALL
Speaker: J. Law

January 9th
NATURE AND SOCIETY
Speaker: L. Dale

January 16th
THE COMMON MARKET
Speaker: E. Hardy

January 23rd
CAPITALISM—A WASTEFUL SOCIETY
Speaker: H. Baldwin

PUBLIC MEETING
HAMPSTEAD TOWN HALL
APRIL 1963

SOCIALIST STANDARD

The real issues facing the working class are their need to use trade union organisation as far as it can be used, to push up wages regardless of cost of living index figures, and beyond this, the task of replacing Capitalism by Socialism which will involve the ending of wages and prices, and the cost of living index.

TRADE UNIONS & the COST OF LIVING

ATTLEE AT EIGHTY

PAN AFRICAN "SOCIALISTS"

HAILSHAM AND THE
UNEMPLOYED

THE WORKING CLASS

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1) That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2) That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3) That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4) That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5) That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6) That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7) That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8) The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Branches

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY 1st and 3rd Thursdays (7th & 21st Feb.) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: SPGB 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm 1st Feb at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 15th Feb. at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

GLASGOW Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Hall, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

HACKNEY Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, NS.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

Groups

BRIGHTON Meetings Fridays, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

BROMLEY For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

COVENTRY 1st and 3rd Mondays (4th and 18th Feb.) 7.30 pm, 60 Alma Street, Off Lower Ford St. Enquiries: Secretary, at above address.

EARLS COURT & DISTRICT Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

MID HERTS Enquiries: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield (Phone Hatfield 4802). Regular monthly discussions at above address.

LEWISHAM Wednesdays 6th & 20th Feb. 8.15 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, 2 Davenport Road, SE6.

NOTTINGHAM 2nd & 4th Wednesdays (13th & 27th Feb.) 8 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street, Correspondence: G. Hallam, 14 Church Drive, Carrington, Nottingham.

PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX 2nd and 4th Monday in month (11th and 25th Feb.) 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

SWANSEA 1st and 3rd Monday (4th and 18th Feb.) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W.5

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (14th and 28th Feb.) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Dautz, 117 Pettic's Lane Romford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 8.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, near "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (8th and 22nd Feb.) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: M. Hopwood, 4 St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale, Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Enquiries: T. Lord 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran near Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF
GREAT BRITAIN



THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

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NEWS IN REVIEW 20

Sir William

Hailsham & Unemployment

Escape from the Dole

Medical Research

ATTLEE AT EIGHTY 22

THE AGE OF OIL 23

TRADE UNIONS & THE COST

OF LIVING 24

FINANCE AND INDUSTRY 25

PAN AFRICAN "SOCIALISTS" 26

SEMI-ENLIGHTENED BISHOP 28

A CONSERVATIVE'S VIEW OF

RUSSIA 28

BRANCH NEWS 29

WORKING CLASS 30

MEETINGS 31

THE PASSING SHOW 32

What comes first?

To put it mildly, life under capitalism is an unpleasant business. Apart from the dominating problems, there are the lesser irritations which also go into the balance against the private property system.

There are, for example, the constant admonitions to us, from government, church, press and so on, to conform to the morality of capitalism. For the workers, this means an uncomplaining acceptance of the system. It means to work hard and soberly and to keep capitalism's laws. A man who ignored these precepts to the extent of neglecting his sick and hungry children in favour of a career of destruction and violence would not only find the finger of the law upon him. He would also be an outcast because he had offended against capitalism's morality. We can all imagine—in fact we have all seen—the treatment the popular press would give to such a man. We have all seen the emotional headlines and the carefully horrible photographs, all designed to make the man seem a human monster.

Very well. A man like that would certainly be an extremely objectionable person, one with whom it is impossible to feel much sympathy. What, then, are we to say of a social system which acts just like that man? How does capitalism itself live up to its own morality?

Violence and destruction? The British government is now spending £1,709 million a year on its armed forces and their weapons. The United States, with its greater power and its heavier international commitments, is spending at the rate of £17,648 million a year on the same things, over £5,357 million of it on nuclear weapons.

Now what about capitalism's sick and hungry children? All around us there is evidence that plenty of such children literally do exist, hanging on to life by their fingernails. We have just come through the Christmas period, a regular feature of which is the mass of appeals from all sorts of charities whose declared object is to feed and to help distressed children. We have seen the pitiful pictures of the wasted little bodies, near-skeletons with swollen bellies and desperate eyes. The people who organise these charities are undoubtedly sincere and are involved in a problem which is quick to move any human being.

These are not the only things which capitalism neglects. We have recently heard that the research unit at Hammersmith Hospital, which has been doing such valuable work in the field of kidney grafting, has had its future threatened by lack of funds. Nor is Hammersmith Hospital the only research centre suffering in this way. Mr. James Callaghan, the Labour Party Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer, has said that he has heard of another "vitally important medical research unit which is living from hand to mouth." Mr. Callaghan, of course, was gratefully wielding a stick upon the Tory government. Things were no better when Labour was in power.

There is one thing which all these charities and research teams need and which, within capitalism, might go a long way to assure their future. Money. Why don't they have it? Because the capitalist class knows that its interests demand that it lavishes enormous sums upon making the means to kill and terrorise humans, even while the organisations which at any rate try to help humans are forced to penny pinch and to rely on charity.

Not that the answer is to support the charities. Those people who support capitalism and complain about its inevitable problems are as illogical as the man who drinks a bottle of whisky and then complains when inevitably he cannot walk straight.

The real solution to this is for the world working class to establish Socialism. This will be a world without armed forces and all that goes with them, without money and all that that entails, without the need for charities. It will be a world in which human interests are Number One Priority, in which the only motive for human activity will be human benefit.

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THE NEWS IN REVIEW



Sir William

Nobody who has troubled to keep an eye on the trade union movement will have fainted with surprise at the news that the New Year Honours List brought a knighthood to William Carron.

Carron, president of the Amalgamated Engineering Union (motto, carved impressively on the presidential chair, "Be United And Industrious"), is the latest in a lengthening line of trade union knights, preceded by such as Tom O'Brien of NATKE and Tom Williamson (now a life peer) of NUGMW.

One thing these men have in common. They are all what is known as "moderate" trade union leaders. And "moderate" is another of the euphemisms beloved of the Capitalist press.

It means a trade union leader who can be relied upon to angrily denounce unofficial strikes. It means the sort of leader who suffers the wage restrictions of a Labour government and who co-operates in drives for greater efficiency and productivity. A man who thinks that it is a good idea for the unions to be

represented on the National Economic Development Council and other such bodies, which are designed to promote co-operation between the workers and the employers. It means a man who does his best to ignore the fact that there is a class struggle in Capitalist society.

But this is not what trade unions are there for. The unions should concern themselves with protecting and advancing the interests of their members. They should be struggling for higher pay, shorter hours, better working conditions, and so on. But where do honours come into all this?

Honours are reserved for the people who have served Capitalism in some way or other; they are the establishment's mark of appreciation.

It is a bitter commentary on the standing of the trade unions today, and on the standard of consciousness of their members, that the men at the top are so often coming to wear a coronet or some other, bauble to show that Capitalism has looked upon them and found them good.

Hailsham and Unemployment

Lord Hailsham, the government's odd-job man, has won himself a reputation of being a showy, energetic politician. How, then, to describe his appointment as the man to look into the unemployment problem in the North-East?

Was this Action? Or just another odd job?

Certainly there was nothing new about the idea. The 1929 Labour government had not one but three ministers looking after their unemployment problem. At least one of these was showy and at least one other was energetic. But the unemployment figures still kept on going up.

Why only the North-East? True, unemployment is relatively high there; but

so it is in Scotland and Wales. Whatever claims the government might make about the North-East being different, the fact is that, as a problem of Capitalism, unemployment is the same in one area as it is in another.

Does Mr. Macmillan have a soft spot for the North-East? He told the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce "... human needs are as great in the North-East, in Scotland or Merseyside, and even in Birmingham. They are the boys who fought and died and suffered and as long as I have anything to do with the conduct of affairs I shall regard them as of the highest priority ... I felt that the appointment of a senior active member of

SOCIALIST STANDARD 1963

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Hailsham must prove no better than the men who have tackled the problem before him. He can find out how much unemployment there is in the North-East.

He can discover that unemployment hurts. He may even realise the basic reason for it. But as far as he is concerned that will not be for publication.

Escape from the Dole

Short of war itself, the best recruiting sergeant has always been poverty. In the thirties, the prospect of endless waiting in the dole queues drove thousands of workers into the armed forces. Even the army canteen seemed like a slap-up West End restaurant after months of bread and marge and tea.

Those were the days when for every man accepted there were half-a-dozen turned away. Years of poverty and malnutrition had left large numbers of youths unable to pass the medical, so much so that even the Tory government became alarmed that there might not be enough efficient cannon fodder for the next holocaust.

Things have been different since 1945. Capitalist "prosperity" has left the services begging for recruits. Pay has had to be raised and conditions improved, but even so the response has been poor. Until now.

Now British capitalism is not doing so well. There is pressure on wages, a harder line against the unions and, most threatening of all, the return of unemployment and the dole queues.

What a sudden change this has caused! Only a little while ago we were hearing tales of the sumptuous married quarters being provided to encourage wives to persuade their husbands to join up. Now we are told that there have been so many applications that the authorities have decided to refuse almost all married volunteers.

Recruiting on Tees-side is apparently up 33 per cent, in Manchester 32 per cent, in Preston 40 per cent. Northern Ireland has also had "a good year" and Western Command recruitment has increased by a fifth.

Yet another grim development to remind us of those "bad old days" that were supposed to have gone for ever.

Skybolt

The Tories care. Many of them have clung to an independent British nuclear force as a sign that this country is not quite finished as a world power. Skybolt was meant to keep this force going until 1970, which will be some years after the Soviet defences are expected to render useless the missiles currently in service with the R.A.F.

The backbench Defence Committee of Conservative M.P.s. were especially glum at this latest blow to their ancient illusions. Macmillan and Thorneycroft had to do a lot of explaining to them.

The Labour Party cares. Gleefully, their spokesmen leapt upon what they love to call the "Tory mess" over what they like to call "defence." (Who, or what, was Skybolt supposed to defend?) Labour should have been as glum as the Tories. They were the party which started the British nuclear force, including the bombs which they grumble about, when the Tory government tests them.

In fact, all the Capitalist parties care about Skybolt. They all had some sort

of policy on it, which they coughed up in the shape of advice for the government.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain does not care about the Skybolt row. We do not care whether Capitalism fights its wars with missiles which come from the air and hit the ground or from the sea and hit the air or from anywhere to hit anywhere else.

We think it is quite horrible that intelligent men and women should spend their time, all over the world, in thinking up nightmares like nuclear bombs and missiles. We think it is ridiculous that other grown up people should solemnly argue about which missile is the cheapest or the fastest or the most destructive. We think it is even more ridiculous that these people should be admired by the majority of workers as wise, good men.

We know that the best thing that could happen would be for the world working class to abolish Capitalists, with all its weapons and leaders.

Who cares about that? We do.

Medical Research



The medical profession are having a tough time in cracking the problem of replacing a diseased kidney with one which has been taken from another person. Up to the present, they have had very little success with this operation, and what they have had has been mainly confined to grafts between identical twins or other very close relatives.

If the doctors could solve this one, it would mean that a lot of people who are now condemned to die would be saved, because a diseased kidney can be a killer.

Research into the problem is going on all the time, in particular at the Hammersmith Hospital in London, where the work has been supported by a government grant. Then last month there came the news that this grant would run out in April and that it was not likely to be renewed.

Dr. David Spencer, who was involved some months ago in a dramatic and unsuccessful kidney operation, made a public appeal for funds and soon got the money he had asked for.

And how much was this? A hundred million? Well, no. One million, then? Wrong again. A measly thirty thousand pounds. But apparently the government had decided that they just could not afford this amount.

Is the Exchequer broke, then? How much, say, do they spend each year on armaments? Thirty thousand? Well, no. Hundred million, then? Wrong again. A whopping great £1,709,000,000.

There are plenty of people, all of them supporters of Capitalism, who can get indignant about this. But it is most illogical of them to do so.

Because it is typical of Capitalism's priorities that, when the queue forms for the allocation of society's resources, death and destruction should be somewhere up front and human health and safety somewhere near the back.

Socialism could, and would, get things in their right order. That is something which should be driven home to anybody who would rather beat disease than build a hydrogen bomb.

**★ QUESTIONS OF THE
DAY (1/3 post paid)**

THE WISDOM OF AGE Attlee at eighty

CLEMENT ATTLEE—the mousey, insignificant Post Master General, who grew up to become the Prime Minister for whom the journalists' favourite adjectives were "ruthless" and "waspy"—was eighty years old last month.

His birthday was greeted with the gushing eulogies which we have come to expect on such occasions. Nobody, it seems, is as popular as the politician who has ridden the strains of office to the extent that he has managed to reach old age. Then he can sit back and cast a weary, benevolent eye upon the men who are struggling with the problems which were once his own everyday burden—an eye perhaps a little sardonic, an eye which perhaps says in its smile that he thinks that *he* made a better mess of it all than those who are trying to run the show today. The strifes and upsets of his own days of power are forgotten. So are some of the more unpleasant memories of what it meant to be a prominent politician. Forgotten are the dirty jobs, the deceit and the repressions which he had to condone. It is all forgotten, in a rosy glow of congratulation. We have heard it all before and we are accustomed to it all.

We are accustomed, too, to the trumpets from the other side—to the eulogies from the men who call themselves his political opponents. Christopher Hollis, for example, who was Conservative M.P. for Devizes when Attlee was Prime Minister, filled up half a page of *The Observer* with his birthday praise for the ex-Labour leader. "Plenty To Be Proud About," cried Hollis, "... the English people unanimously offer him their congratulations ... a public institution ... a great Englishman." All very cheerful and chummy. All proves that, however much the Tories may shout at the Labour Party—and the Labour Party shout back—across the floor of the House, under the skin they are all jolly good fellows, all pulling the same way. Pretty dashed English, in fact.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD has something other than congratulations to offer Earl Attlee upon his reaching old age. And we do not praise any other Capitalist politician for any similar reason. We know that the praise, from friend and foe of the old man, only serves to bolster the "great leader" theory, to impress us with

the idea that at the head of Capitalism's affairs there is a select band who have the touch of greatness and who safely hold our fortunes in their hands. It is part of the rules of the leadership game that the old, retired men are heaped with congratulations on every possible occasion, which is an indirect way of also congratulating the men who have taken their place and to imply that one day they, too, will be similarly revered. That is why Tories rush into print to wish Attlee well, Labourites to congratulate Churchill, and so on. They are all playing the same game.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD prefers to remember what Capitalism means to the people of the world and that the Attlees and Churchills work themselves hard to try to maintain a social system which operates directly against the interests of the overwhelming majority of those people. We know that the leaders will lie and betray to protect the interests of their own national ruling class and that, if Capitalism demands it, they will have little trouble with their consciences in sending millions of workers to their deaths. That was how it was before Attlee became Prime Minister. That is how it is today. And that was how it was when he was at Number Ten.

Promises

We should not forget that the Labour Party came to power in 1945 on a promise to be different. They did not encourage anyone to believe that they would not improve upon the dismal Tory record of poverty and war which lay in such discredit in 1945. The war had destroyed some well established notions and to that extent the Labour government had a chance to start afresh. They had promised so much and the working class—or enough of them to elect a large majority of M.P.s—had believed them. In 1945 it was up to Attlee and his fellow leaders to deliver the goods. How did they make out?

Even before he became Prime Minister, Attlee knew of the existence of an atom bomb and had agreed that, if the Japanese did not surrender first, the new weapon should be used against them. He still thinks today that he was correct in

this decision, although he pleads that at the time he did know of the genetic effects of the bomb and of its fantastic destructive power. One of the popular theories about Attlee (and about a few other politicians as well) is that, because he was a soldier in 1914/18, he is only too well acquainted with the horrors of war and can therefore be relied upon to work his hardest for a peaceful world. Like so many other similar theories, this one is quite worthless. When Capitalism needed it, Attlee could conveniently tuck away his memories and agree to the unleashing of the mass killer bomb, the most horrible weapon the world had ever seen, which made the trenches look like a kid's firework display. And he could coldly justify his decision on military and strategic grounds.

Let us take the point further. If Attlee did not know, *before* the bomb was dropped, of its power and its genetic effects, what did he think about it *after* Hiroshima and Nagasaki, when everyone realised that this was a weapon the like of which we had not seen before? Did he step back appalled? Did he regret his decision? Exactly the opposite. It was the Attlee government which set on foot the programme for the manufacture of a British nuclear bomb and of the missiles to carry it. Somewhere along the way, of course, this programme has gone awry and the independent nuclear force which the Labour government tried to establish for British Capitalism now relies heavily upon American resources. But that does not alter the fact that they tried to get it, and their record is the blacker for it. (From Washington came an ironical birthday present for Attlee—the decision to cancel the Skybolt missile, which was such a blow to the independent nuclear force which the Attlee government conceived.)

It was the Labour government, too, which took this country into the Korean war and there, if you like, is a typical example of Capitalism's irony. For the decision to split Korea was arrived at at what were called the Peace Conferences after the war. Now if there is one thing Peace Conferences should be able to do is to make peace. But Capitalism simply does not work that way: "Peace" Conferences only draw out the battle line for the next war. That is what happened in

Korea and in Berlin and other parts of the world. Some of these "peace" settlements have caused disputes which might have sparked off the third world war. Attlee pleads now that at the post war conferences the British negotiators got the best deal they could and that the trouble was all caused by the Russians. Yet one reason for having a Labour government, we were told, was that they were supposed to be able to deal with this sort of situation, that they were the men who could talk to the Russians in the language they understood, the men to bring peace to the world. But when it came to it they were as ready as any other government to involve themselves in the diplomacy and the intrigue—and in the end the bloodletting—which Capitalism demands.

There is nothing in the international record of his government for Earl Attlee to feel proud about.

The past

Neither is there anything for him to take pride in in the history of the Labour government at home. Can a party which always claimed to stand for the interests of the working class feel proud of breaking strikes among the men—the dockers and miners, for example—who in some part built their party for them? Can the party which promised prosperity take pride in the austerity, the wage freeze and the other restrictions which they imposed during their term? Can the party which fought against the Emergency Powers Act, when it was introduced as a Bill before the House of Commons, look back proudly upon the memory of themselves wielding the coercive powers of that very Act? All these things, and many more, were the work of the Attlee administration. There is nothing for the aged Earl to feel proud about in them.

Nobody should think, of course, that the record of the Labour government is exclusively Attlee's responsibility, or that things would have been different with someone else as Prime Minister. No government has ever done any better than Labour did—no government, in other words, has been able to run Capitalism to the benefit of the working class, who are the mass of its people. The point about the Labour Party is that they promised—and they still promise—that they *can* run Capitalism in that way. And they call their sort of Capitalism Socialism.

Attlee himself did his job with an arid efficiency. In the Cabinet he was a model chairman. To his colleagues he was an asper, ruthless boss. More than one minister lost his office with startling abruptness under the Attlee axe. "...

most of the people I had to get rid of," said Attlee later, "Took it very well." And to Harold Laski, then chairman of the Labour Party: "... the constant flow of speeches from and interviews with you are embarrassing ... a period of silence on your part would be welcome. Yours ever, Clem."

The ending of that letter is typical. Attlee covered all his comings and goings with a cloak of modesty. Whatever job he had to do for British Capitalism was always put through with a cold self-effacement, a deliberate avoidance of rhetoric. When he told the 1940 conference of the Labour Party that they had brought about the end of the Chamberlain government and had agreed to serve in the wartime coalition under Churchill, he did so in such bleak terms that Harold Laski said that he felt "as though the cook and kitchen maid have been telling us that they sacked the butler." Attlee delights in making such important statements casually; it is one of the characteristics which his eulogisers love so well. Francis William's book, *A Prime Minister Remembers*, is full of this sort of stuff: "It was quite obvious they (the Russians) were going to be troublesome ... It (Berlin) was quite a danger. But it was a risk that had to be taken." And so on. On the evening he became Prime Minister, he was driven to Buckingham Palace, not in a Rolls or even a Bentley, but in a small family car, with his wife as his chauffeur.

Shrewd

When we consider all this, and the fact that his job required him to be anything but self-effacing, we come upon one of the clues to Attlee's rise to power. He was nothing if not an extremely shrewd administrator of Capitalism. For him, public modesty was a weapon, a badge, a trade mark, like Churchill's cigars and V-sign. He could not carry off the flamboyant, capering politician. So he made a conceit out of modesty. Unusual, perhaps, but it worked.

Attlee got the top job. And when he had got it he did everything that British Capitalism required of him. Very often he had to do things which he must have known were directly against the interests and the safety of the very people who had raised him to power. But he never flinched. He did his job, in his dry, inflexible way, and British Capitalism ticked on.

If it is any consolation to him, let us say that he deserves the thanks and the congratulations which the organs of Capitalist opinion have heaped upon him.

IVAN.



February 1913

THE AGE OF OIL

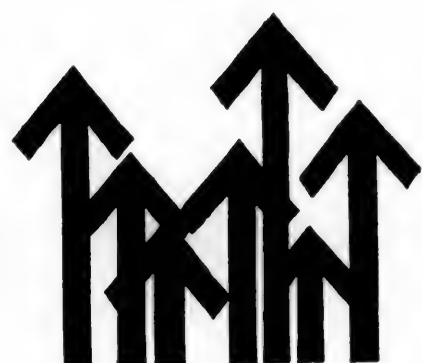
The oil age is coming. Year books, financial journals, the sharks of Throgmorton Street, together with the rest of the interested, "far seeing" exploiters and worshippers of the golden calf, are eagerly discussing the possibilities of oil as a motive force, and how much more profit they can grab by its use.

It behoves the working class to consider the question also, because it is they who are going to suffer, as usual, from what would be a boon and a blessing to all were the toilers sufficiently enlightened and determined to make it such.

The Diesel engine has already proved itself capable of propelling ocean-going steamers, and will doubtless be in general use in the near future. Look at this: "The engine room staff of the *Selandia* consists of eight men and two boys. No firemen required. No boilers needed. No loading with bunker coal for the voyage".

How our masters must rub their hands with delight when they think of the saving of wages, extra cargo space, cheaper ships, and many other advantages. How the thoughtful fireman must curse when his job disappears, and the boilermaker when he reads: "No boilers required". How joyous the coal-porter must feel when, instead of fifty men employed in coaling a ship, he sees the engineer turn on the oil cock and fill his tanks in a few hours! Oh! the unspeakable happiness of the lightermen and railwaymen at the thought of not having to transport any more dirty coal to the docks! What joy dwells in the heart of the miner as he thinks of the near future when oil competes fiercely with coal, and thousands of him are saved the trouble of squabbling over the "abnormal places", having gained the displaced wage-slave's normal place—the gutter.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD
February 1913



TRADE UNIONS AND THE COST OF LIVING

IF WORKERS were slaves or horses and consequently were fed and housed by their owners they would have grievous hardship to put up with but would not have to trouble about the cost to their owners of providing fodder and stables: that would be the owners' worry.

The slaves' troubles would centre round the fact that they were being worked to the limit for the benefit of the owners. As workers are not owned but are "free," they have the same basic grievance as did the slaves, but in addition they have to worry about their wages and the cost of living and about keeping a job. So for a century or more the trade unions, and other bodies claiming to speak for the workers have, alongside the job of struggling with the employers over wages, occupied themselves with the statistical problems of measuring movements of wages and movements of prices.

It is hard to think of any activity into which so much effort has gone with so little result. From a working class standpoint it has been almost totally misconceived and misdirected, though, of course, the masses of information, the wage indexes and price indexes, have been useful to governments and employers.

In the trade unions it started with the optimistic belief that if employers would not give wage increases under threat or actuality of a strike they might do so if presented with information about the high or rising cost of living. It was soon found that the employers were not moved by this argument whereupon the social reformers came forward with their notion that in such circumstances the government would intervene from a sense of social obligation, and compel the employers to give way.

This did seem to produce some limited result in that the better organised employers supported government legislation to enforce minimum wages for workers in some of the worst paid trades (the "sweated" trades and agriculture, for example). But the employers and the government were not thereby committing themselves to the principle that all workers were to be guaranteed a job

at a reasonable standard of living and safeguarded against the effects of rising prices.

The bigger employers were protecting themselves against the competition of low-priced goods produced by the "sweaters," and they and the government both had a long-term interest, industrial and military, in preventing the creation of masses of underfed and physically sub-standard workers. For the employers as a whole and for the government the paramount interest has always been the necessity of making profit and keeping the profit-system functioning as smoothly as maybe: which means that their paramount interest has always been, not in pushing wages up but in preventing them from rising to the point that profit is endangered.

No government has ever abandoned this and the Conservative Selwyn Lloyd's efforts to impose a "wage-pause" in the face of rising prices only echoed the wage-restraint policy of the post-war Labour government. What then is the use of quoting the official retail price index to show that prices are rising, against a Selwyn Lloyd or a Stafford Cripps, who both declared in their day that it was government policy to prevent wages from rising notwithstanding the rise of the cost of living?

Against this background of the real world of Capitalism, the world of profit seeking, exploitation and class struggle, the question of the statistical accuracy of the government's retail price index can be seen in its proper perspective, but even in this narrow field trade union effort has been often based on misconception. A sixpenny pamphlet, *The New Cost of Living Index*, published by the Labour Research Department, may help to dispel some of the misunderstandings.

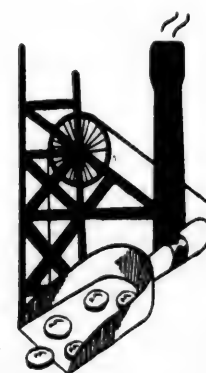
In the last half century hundreds of trade union conference resolutions have been passed demanding a more accurate index and specifically urging the government to make the index more accurate by including items of expenditure in it that were earlier excluded. Many of these resolutions rested on the fallacious belief that making the index cover more items (e.g., by bringing into it motor cars, TV

sets, refrigerators, Terylene garments, dog and cat foods, etc., etc.) has the effect of raising the index figure. But the index is not a measure of total cost of a lot of articles but a measure of the average percentage price change month by month; bringing in more articles has no effect whatever on the index figure at the point when they are brought in. If, after being brought in, the new items rise in price, that will help to raise the index, but if they fall in price, that will lower the index.

If all prices always moved in the same direction and by the same percentage an index based on only one article would be just as accurate as one based on hundreds of separate articles. But as prices do not move together and an average has to be taken of all the separate movements, it is necessary for statistical accuracy that the right importance ("weight") should be given to each item. In the original index of half a century ago foods were given a "weight" of 60 out of a 100. This meant that if food prices as a whole rose by 10 per cent. and all other prices remained unchanged the index would rise by 6 per cent. In the present index food is given a weight of only about 30 in a 100, so that if food now went up by 10 per cent. and other prices remained unchanged the index would go up by only about 3 per cent.

The L.R.D. pamphlet explains these technicalities in some detail and argues that some items are inaccurately weighted (alcoholic drinks, tobacco, and housing). It also recognises that though in the past few years this has operated mainly to make the index lower than it otherwise would be, it could operate the other way. The overweighting of tobacco, which for long helped to depress the index because tobacco prices rose comparatively little, more recently had the opposite effect because tobacco prices rose sharply. Which brings us to a defect in the approach of the pamphlet. It has a subtitle which asks, is the index "fair," and maintains that accuracy is an important question to the workers. So far as the index as such has any effect in determining the level of wages, which is at most

continued bottom page 26



FINANCE AND INDUSTRY

Trouble among the experts

Regular readers of these columns will know that we do not have a very high opinion of economic experts. We have so often seen them proved wrong, so often seen them at a loss when really called upon to make a decision or commit themselves, so often seen them at sixes and sevens among themselves, so often seen them compelled to eat their pretentious and self-satisfied words, that we are no longer surprised whatever they do or say. Not the most appealing of their habits either is the way they shoot off on completely new tacks, contradicting all they have said before without the slightest hint of an apology or blush of shamefacedness. Yes, we must admit to a very jaundiced view of our economic pundits.

The latest example of what we mean is a report in the *Observer* recently about the investigations of a certain Mr. Little of Nuffield College, Oxford. Mr. Little is described in the same article as being one of the two or three most brilliant economists of his generation, so presumably his views are destined to carry some weight.

The most important of his observations is that it is "useless to try to predict the future earnings of a company from any single past earnings growth ratio, or from dividends, or from asset size." Which, if true, means that the whole paraphernalia of investment analysis, hitherto regarded as the last word in predicting the future fortunes of capitalist firms, falls to the ground. According to the *Observer* there are hundreds of economists, accountants, and actuaries all busily engaged on such analysis in London City offices, and there must be many more in the United States where the whole idea started. Apparently, if Mr. Little is to be believed, they have all been wasting their time.

His conclusions were so demoralising that a prominent stockbroking firm made its own investigation. Its report confirmed that made by Mr. Little. We are left wondering why it did not get around to making the discovery for itself without waiting for an outsider to do it.

Another fallacy knocked on the head is that much of the talk we have had to listen to about the virtues of good man-

agement is so much guff. According to Mr. Little, if by good management is meant "the ability to produce and maintain a higher return than the average," then it hardly exists, and really bad management is equally rare. Our managers, it would seem, are in fact much of a muchness. Marks and Spencer for example is often quoted with admiration as a firm with top class management, but in reality it is hardly out of the ordinary. "Statistically speaking," says Mr. Little, "Marks and Spencer does not exist."

We hope to report further in due course on the repercussions, if any, of Mr. Little's revelations. No doubt our investment analysts will think of something to preserve and justify their existence.

Pump-priming

We reported last month on the Government's efforts to stimulate Britain's flagging economy and on the capitalists' unenthusiastic response.

Mr. Maudling has now cut Bank Rate

to 4 per cent. and brought down purchase tax on radios, television sets, and cosmetics to 25 per cent. in a further effort to prime the pump. Our capitalists still remain unimpressed.

What they are really waiting for is a clear indication that when they start investing in further plant there will be a nice big market ready to absorb their products. In the present economic mood, it will take more than Government pump-priming measures to get them round to that.

Top firms

The *Observer* recently published figures showing the hundred top British firms graded according to the amount of their net assets.

The table is too big to reproduce in full, but we show on this page the names of the top twenty as a useful record. They all have net assets of more than a £100 million. In case anyone wonders why Royal Dutch Shell does not appear it is because it is an international company.

S. H.

THE TWENTY TOP BRITISH FIRMS

Company	Industry	Net assets £'000	Net profits £'000
1 Imperial Chemical Industries	Chem. & allied ind...	738,498	31,381
2 Unilever Limited	Chem. & allied ind...	372,154	23,984
3 Imperial Tobacco	Tobacco	225,054	14,936
4 Courtaulds	Textiles	207,771	23,451
5 Esso Petroleum	Chem. & allied ind...	203,684	9,870
6 Guest, Keen & Nettlefolds	Metal goods	202,155	12,050
7 Bowater Paper Corporation	Paper, prtng. & pub.	186,211	4,795
8 Steel Company of Wales	Metal manufacturing	183,317	6,929
9 Tube Investments	Metal manufacturing	177,277	8,198
10 Associated Electrical Industries	Electrical Engineering	171,789	3,326
11 Distillers Company Ltd.	Drink	156,594	17,244
12 Vickers	Engineering	146,672	4,690
13 Ford Motor Company	Vehicles	143,234	N.A.
14 Stewarts and Lloyds	Metal manufacturing	137,487	7,411
15 Dunlop	Rubber	130,990	5,548
16 United Steel Companies	Metal manufacturing	130,925	8,759
17 Great Universal Stores	Retail distribution	115,982	11,827
18 Colvilles	Metal manufacturing	108,227	7,607
19 J. & P. Coats, Patons & Baldwins	Textiles	107,432	8,336
20 Hawker Siddeley	Vehicles	104,774	4,284

Sources: Exchange Telegraph, Board of Trade.
[*Observer*, 30 December, 1962]



CENTRAL AFRICA

Pan-African "Socialists"

PAN-AFRICAN SOCIALISM, so-called, is essentially a creation of West Africa. But with the spread of education and the growth of communications in Africa these ideas have been absorbed also by Africans living in the East and the South of the continent. The main African political parties in these areas all claim to be Socialist. Frequently their leaders appear in London and ask the workers of Britain to support them in their struggle against imperialism. But nationalism is incompatible with Socialism and it is actually a barrier against the spread of Socialist ideas. On occasions it is even worse: for nationalism frequently hinders even the effective organisation of workers on the trade union field which is so essential under capitalism. Recent events in Central Africa well illustrate this point.

In Southern Rhodesia the Pan-Africanists whose political party, the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union was recently outlawed, have provoked a split among the African workers. Previously there was only one organisation claiming to represent the African worker, the South-

continued from page 24

very little, the workers, of course, do not want it to be "fair" and accurate; they want it to be inaccurate in one direction only. Between the wars when as its critics pointed out the index heavily over-weighted food, those workers, including civil servants, who had wage agreements related to the index had reason to be pleased, for as long as food prices were rising faster than other prices, because this made the index figure "inaccurately" high. They ceased to like it when food prices slumped and their pay went down with them.

There are, however, trivialities by comparison with the real issues facing the working class: their need to use trade union organisation as far as it can be used, to push up wages regardless of cost of living index figures, and beyond this, the task of replacing Capitalism by Socialism which will involve the ending of wages and prices, and the cost of living index.

It

ern Rhodesia Trade Union Congress (SRTUC), led by Reuben Jamela. However, Jamela betrayed a pro-Western leaning by maintaining, in defiance of Ghana, that the SRTUC should remain affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). In addition, Jamela, although himself a nationalist, held that . . .

the declared position of Jamela's trade unionism is that the workers as workers must not be involved in politics and it has been argued by politicians and trade unionists that the two cannot mix: trade unionism must be for economical well-being of the working class, while politics is the game of both the worker and employer for political and social rights.

Without in any way supporting Jamela, we must say that the arguments which he presents against the association of the trade unions with the nationalist parties are basically sound. After all, trade unions are primarily organised to protect the workers of a particular trade section, or of a group of more or less allied trades. People of varying political and religious views are united in trade unions on one issue alone: the recognition that collective action is more effective than individual action when dealing with employers. Politics within the trade union tends to destroy this unity. This is what has happened in Southern Rhodesia. The Pan-Africanists have broken away from the SRTUC and set up their own African TUC which is rapidly gaining support at the expense of the SRTUC and which, incidentally, has not been banned.

The particular party which it is suggested the unions support is, despite its Socialist pretensions, basically capitalist and nationalist. The nationalist case for turning the trade unions into little more than the labour wing of the nationalist party is based on an appeal to racial sentiment. "The absence of large African companies," argues *The People's Voice*, "of African-owned mines and large factories—a natural consequence of colonial oppression—turns the African workers in an anti-imperialist direction. The European colonialist became the enemy of the African workers," but the

paper goes on to suggest that because of this the trade union struggle is against the "European rulers" just as is the African political movement and hence it is reasonable for them to unite.

But is the trade union struggle exclusively anti-European? Whatever may have been the position in West Africa, the idea that the European in Central Africa is merely a "monopolist" or a capitalist is as absurd as the notion that all Jews are financiers. First, there are over 80,000 European workers in Southern Rhodesia compared with 9,000 European employers and self-employed and, second, although nearly all the large businesses and factories are European or foreign owned, there are in actual fact more African businessmen than European. Nor the Europeans the only people who have opposed African strikes. ZAPU's allies in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland have done just this and worse.

In July this year the supreme council of the Northern Rhodesia African Mineworkers' Union decided to call a strike for higher pay as they considered the copper mining companies' offer inadequate. Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party decided that a strike at this time might harm their chances in the October general elections. UNIP therefore advised the workers to accept the offer and itself took steps to prevent the strike. During the weekend before the strike was due to begin leaflets were distributed calling on the workers not to strike. One such leaflet, signed by A. B. Mutemba, UNIP Kitwe, Kalulushi and Mufilira Regional Secretary, read:

Tell all our people that UNIP does not agree to the strike call. This strike will spoil our forthcoming elections. We ask you all to report for work as usual. If you want a strike you will do so after October—not now. Anyone who strikes on Tuesday will be regarded as an enemy of the African cause (*Northern News* 9/7/62).

Other leaflets, later repudiated, accused the union leaders of organising the strike for their own selfish ends. As a result of these leaflets so much confusion was created that the union decided to

call off the strike. At least this is one explanation, but the strike was called off after Kaunda had met the union leaders. Only later did it become known that one of these leaders, previously not known as a nationalist, had agreed to stand as a UNIP candidate in the elections. Whatever the reason, UNIP and the Companies won. This episode clearly shows the attitude of the Pan-Africanists towards the trade unions: they want to see the African workers organised in order to use them for their own ends.

The Malawi Congress Party, led by Our Great Ngwasi Kumuzu Banda (Ngwasi means "sage" but is probably better translated "fuehrer"), which rules Nyasaland has also clashed with the unions. No sooner had the MCP formed the government than it acted against some strikers, members of the Motor and Allied Workers Union, whose leaders had called a strike for higher pay. A Pan-Africanist writing later complained "what a burden it was for the new African Minister to start his duties by solving a strike problem," and went on:

In any event, the Malawi Congress Party condemned the strike and since then the destructive actions by this Union have been less apparent. (*Daily News* 22/6/62.)

Trade Unions

This turned out to be a little optimistic as the Motor and Allied Workers Union and the Commercial and General Workers' Union continued their "irresponsible" and "destructive actions" of trying to improve their members' working conditions and living standards. For their trouble the leaders of these unions were suspended from membership of the MCP and accused of "importing Trade Union ideas from America and Western Europe in this country." This was judged incompatible with the principles and policy of the party. Which is a frank admission that the MCP is not in favour of allowing the workers to form genuine trade unions or of allowing them to strike.

Banda and his colleagues have continued to abuse and insult these union leaders whose only crime appears to be their belief that trade unions should be independent of Government. In August Dr. Banda referred to these trade unionists as "self seekers who are misleading the workers" and accused one of getting money from Europeans to "further his selfish ends." Banda went on to say that his ruling Malawi Congress Party "will crush mercilessly anyone who allows himself to be used by imperialists

and colonialists."

Such is the way the Pan-Africanists treat the workers when once in power. With African businessmen it is a different matter. Far from saying that the African worker has no interests in common with these African property-owners the Pan-Africanists seek to win them for their cause. UNIP has a clause in its programme which reads: "to work and protect the interests of commercial traders and help them in their progressive business schemes." *The Daily News* (10/9/62) reported that at a ZAPU meeting "Mr. S. J. Ndebele . . . urged African businessmen to rally behind ZAPU and sacrifice both money and time." In addition the President of the African Farmers' Union is also a well-known ZAPU member. Such is the confusion of Pan-African "Socialism" that it preaches the identity of interests between African worker and African capitalist and ignores the European worker. Indeed one of the smaller African nationalist parties in Southern Rhodesia which calls itself Socialist, the Pan-African Socialist Union, has denounced ZAPU as a "capitalist multi-racial organisation" and one of its leaders is on record as having said: "I loathe European membership in a pure African nationalist organisation." Pan-Africanism as a political creed has more in common with Fascism, insofar as it is a radical nationalist movement, than with Socialism and there are no grounds at all on which Socialists can support it.

It is not an accident that African nationalist parties, once in power, "crush mercilessly," to use Banda's own words, the workers' independent trade unions. Even people with more regard for democracy than Banda or Nkrumah, people like Nyerere, who have taken in Western liberal ideas, are forced to pass laws restricting civil liberties and trade union freedoms. They do so because they have chosen to develop capitalism in their respective countries. Why this means they must attack the workers was recently well explained by a writer in *Africa Today*. "Independence," he writes, "upset the conditions under which the African union movement had flourished. The state is African now, not European; the issue of patriotism can be, and is, turned against the unions if they oppose the government. The state is concerned with holding down labour costs in both private and public sectors. . . Governments dedicated to rapid economic development obviously must hold down, or reduce, real wages in order to raise capital." So it is in Ghana and in Tanganyika; so it will be in Central Africa. It is for this reason that the right to strike is more often denied than

granted in post-colonial Africa.

This in itself is a good enough reason why the workers of Britain should not listen to these glib nationalist leaders who come here asking for help—help to "crush mercilessly" the workers back home. Nor is there any hope for the workers of Africa in nationalism or racialism: Socialism remains the only hope for the workers of the world. But in Central Africa the workers of all races have yet to learn that the dividing line there, as elsewhere, is that of class not colour. White and non-White workers should stand together against White and non-White property owners. The sooner the workers realise this the better. Meanwhile the danger of racial clash remains.

A. L. B.



essential reading

The Case for Socialism	1/-
Capitalist-Worker-Class Struggle	6d.
50th Anniversary Issue of the Socialist Standard	4d.
Art, Labour and Socialism	1/-
Questions of Today	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism?	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from SPGB,
52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4
POSTAGE 3d. EXTRA

For a socialist analysis
of war read

SOCIALIST PARTY
AND WAR

1/3 post paid, from SPGB
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4



Semi-enlightened Bishop

It is not often that Socialists can quote, even with a degree of approval, the comments of prelates. Usually their function is to tell us that this is the best of all possible worlds and, in between, to bless various weapons as being on the side of God and Good (as against the weapons of the Godless, Evil, and the Other Side). However, the Bishop of Pontefract, reported in *The Guardian* of 9th January, has recently made some thoughtful and thought-provoking remarks on our present social system.

He thinks that wild-cat strikes, gambling, drinking and various other symptoms of a lower moral condition are the result of feelings of helplessness and boredom, the reaction to the increasingly impersonal administration of affairs of State and industry. He accuses leaders

of Church and State of failing to give a satisfying purpose for living. Citing centre-less new housing estates, the race of examinations and status symbol degrees, the Bomb, and the increasing number of suicides, he comes to the conclusion, not very epochmaking we must admit, that there is something wrong with society if it imposes this kind of strain on people. The remarks were mainly concerned with the unhappy lot of industrial workers, but we know that their once more fortunate fellow workers in offices are subject to the same strain and problems and are no less bored as office routine becomes more and more broken down into one-function fragments.

After his comments on the ills of present society, the Bishop lapses into the woolly conclusions that worship of the

Golden Calf is responsible for all this misery and that while poverty is hell, the hunt for money diminishes compassion and mercy.

It would, of course, be too much to expect a Bishop to draw a really solid conclusion from his views, but perhaps we can do this for him. Substituting for "the Golden Calf," the "Profit Motive" or production for profit, not for use, and using this as our yardstick when looking at all that is anti-social going on around us today, we see that preaching and hand-wringing will get us nowhere, just as it has got all would-be reformers nowhere.

Only a complete change in the basis of society can abolish the very material Hell that capitalism has brought us to. It may be too much to expect of the Bishop, but when his flock begin to work for a new social system on earth rather than pie in the sky, and all the flocks throughout the world do the same, Man will at last achieve a world worthy of his skill and intelligence.

S. G.

Companion Parties

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Petone.
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

CORRECTION

In the January *SOCIALIST STANDARD* in the article "Finance and Industry", an error in type setting unfortunately occurred in the second paragraph after the sub-title "Still more waste" on page 10. "£800" should have of course read "£8,000,000".

We offer our apologies for the confusion this mistake may have caused.
EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.



A Conservative's view of Russia

"Under God and the Tsar" ran the old saying, 'all men are equal'. In Imperial Russia there was no old-established aristocracy, no bourgeoisie, nothing in short that you could call a proper ruling class. The same was even true under Stalin. But now, forty years on, under Stalin's successors, a ruling class is fast emerging—a class of capable, ambitious men and women who are ready, indeed determined, to play their proper part in affairs and to have their proper share of the rewards. Such, in England, one imagines, must have been the behaviour of the new upstart aristocracy under the Tudors, and again two or three hundred years later of the suddenly enriched scions of the Industrial Revolution.

"With Victorian England in particular there are many parallels to be drawn. There is the same rapid industrialization with all its attendant sacrifices, human and otherwise, the same sudden economic expansion, the same emergence of a new, confident, self-assertive class, the same earnestness, the same will to power, the same belief in progress, the same sense of their country's imperial destiny, the same agreeable, absolute certainty that they are right. It is even possible to carry the parallel further. Like their Victorian counterparts the new Soviet aristocracy are priggish, prudish, inclined to be pompous, rigidly

attached to their own vested interests and rigidly conservative in their ideas and in their profound reverence for the Establishment in all its manifestations. Even their tastes are the same: they like pictures and statues that are easily comprehensible. They like rich solid food and rich solid ornate decorations and furnishings.

"But, the reader will say, are not these worthy people all Communists? Do they not all believe in world revolution? Of course they do. They are Communists just as the Victorians were Christians. They attend Communist Party meetings and lectures in Marxism-Leninism at regular intervals in exactly the same way as the Victorians attended Church on Sunday. They believe in world revolution just as implicitly as the Victorians believed in the Second Coming. And they apply the principles of Marxism in their private lives to just the same extent as the Victorians applied the principles of the Sermon on the Mount in theirs. Neither more nor less."

(Taken from *Back to Bokhara* by Fitzroy MacLean, *Four Square Books* 3/6. Sir Fitzroy MacLean, Conservative M.P. for Bute and North Ayrshire, formerly in the Diplomatic Service, including service in Moscow, revisited Russia in 1958. This short book is his very readable description and interpretation of the changes he found).

Branch News



Despite extreme wintry weather, Glasgow Branch have held five successful indoor lectures, this really reflects on the consistent work done by all the members. Fourteen members attended these meetings regularly, average audience 27 collections and literature over £8. After much correspondence with the Bellshill Constituency Labour Party, the Branch is optimistic that agreeable terms can be arranged for a debate sometime in February. The "advance guard" has already started the literature sales drive in North Kelvin in anticipation of the election (local) in May. It is hoped that the Cosmo cinema can be booked for the May Day Rally. There is no doubt that over the Border our Comrades are really consistently working hard for the Party in its work to spread Socialist propaganda.

We are happy to report that on the occasion of our comrade Lawrence's visit to his father in Vienna he met many friends and comrades of the Party and in order to mark the occasion they sent a contribution of £6 to the Party in London. We should like to thank our comrades in Vienna—R. Pechinger, Franz Klas, E. Schuster, Fran Draschinsky and R. Frank for the generous

thought and we assure them that their contribution will be used in the best possible manner. We should also like to congratulate them on the work they are doing under quite difficult conditions.

It is with regret that we learn of the death of Fred Clarke of Burton-on-Trent, brother of Charley Clarke who died recently. We extend our sincere sympathy to his brother, J. Clarke who will, we know, continue his good work for the cause of Socialism.

Branches have planned well ahead for propaganda meetings, and 1963 should prove even more successful than last year, when provincial and London branches held regular series of indoor and outdoor propaganda meetings.

Ealing Branch continued its winter programme of films and lectures with two film shows during January. Attendance was good considering the weather. There was also a good response from branch members to Paddington branch's invitation to their lecture on the Common Market at which Comrade Hardy was the speaker. This was the first of the inter-Branch meetings, arranged jointly between Paddington, Bloomsbury and Ealing, and it was very successful.

Members are asked to make special note of the two lectures being held this month—on the 8th and 22nd—at 8.0 p.m. prompt.

Note. The *SOCIALIST STANDARD* is regularly on sale at A. Rowe's newsagents shop at 30 High Street, Woolwich, S.E.18.

Will the following members please contact the Central Branch Secretary as soon as possible as correspondence sent to them has been returned by the post office—S. Killingbeck (Leamington), A. Thomas (Botley, Oxford), A. W. Kent (Aylesbury).

P. H.

SUNDAY MEETINGS, 8 pm Head Office, 52 Clapham High St. SW4

		speakers:
February 3rd	LABOUR PARTY	R. Critchfield
February 10th	COMMUNIST PARTY	D. Zuconni
February 17th	CONSERVATIVE PARTY	L. Cox
February 24th	LIBERAL PARTY	R. Rose

DEBATE

Labour Party v. SPGB

Community Centre
John Street, Bellshill (Glasgow)

Wednesday 20th February
7.30 p.m.

PUBLIC MEETING

After Aldermaston— What?

Hampstead Town Hall
mid April

continued from page 31

THE WORKING CLASS

sold to the workers that they have a national identity and that their interests are at one with the ruling class. Those African and Far Eastern countries which are new to the capitalist fold have been quick to learn from the example of their older rivals.

While Socialists work for an end to national divisions and the introduction of a world community democratically administered and co-operating to produce wealth for the free use of all, Lenin wanted the proletariat to "decisively and actively support the National movements for the liberation of oppressed and dependent nations."

This cry of "National Independence" is still echoed by various dupes of capitalism today, including the "Communist" Party. It has found fruit in the coming to power of home-grown oppressors with the workers being used as a bulwark against their own class interest.

In making this very brief survey many things to which workers devoted their energies, have been left out in order to pay attention to the main points which have a direct bearing on working class activities today. What turn events will take next depends on how rapidly the workers of the world can learn from their experience and the lessons of the past. One thing is certain, for as long as Capitalism continues, poverty, insecurity and wars will remain our constant nightmare.

In 1905 the Manifesto of the Socialist Party of Great Britain was first published. On page 25 of the sixth edition, it said:

"In all human actions material interests rule, and therefore the dominant class can only be concerned in upholding wage slavery and increasing their power over the workers. The working class, on the other hand, are driven by their material interest, to struggle for the possession of the means of living. To the working class history has committed the mission of transforming society from capitalism to Socialism. A glance over past history shows that every class that emancipated itself had to commence with the capture of the political machinery, that is, with the power of government. It is therefore, necessary for the workers to organise a political party having for its object the capture of political power."

This political party of the workers can only be a Socialist party, because Socialism alone is based on the facts of working class existence."

H. B.

Meetings

GLASGOW MEETINGS
Woodside Halls, Clarendon Street
Sundays, 7.30 pm

"GREAT MEN"

February 3rd
**KEIR HARDIE—A STUDY IN
FUTILITY**
Speaker: A. Shaw

February 10th
HITLER—HIS RISE AND FALL
Speaker: Alistair Webster

February 17th
**CHURCHILL—THE MAN AND
THE MYTH**
Speaker: R. Donnelly

February 24th
**STALIN—THE GOD THAT
FAILED**
Speaker: R. Vallar

BELLSHILL PUBLIC DEBATE
LABOUR PARTY v SPGB

Subject
"IS THE LABOUR PARTY A
SOCIALIST PARTY?"
Wednesday, February 20th, 7.30 pm
Community Centre, John Street,
Bellshill

BETHNAL GREEN MEETING
Bethnal Green Town Hall, Cambridge
Heath Road, E2

Wednesday, February 13th, 8 pm
SOCIALISM AND THE "LEFT"
Speaker: E. Grant

ISLINGTON TOWN HALL
Upper Street, N1 (nearest Tube, Angel)

Public Meeting
**THE SOCIALIST ATTITUDE TO
UNEMPLOYMENT**
Sometime in March

PADDINGTON LECTURES
The Royal Oak, York Street,
Marylebone Road, W1
Wednesdays, 8.30 pm

February 6th
THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY
Speaker: L. Cox

February 13th
THE LIBERALS
Speaker: C. May

February 20th
THE LABOUR MOVEMENT
Speaker: R. McDowell

THE WORKING CLASS

IN THESE DAYS when in many parts of the world the working class is in the process of becoming a fully-fledged section of society, it is well to review the class nature of capitalism and note some of the lessons.

As the very existence of the class struggle is widely denied even in the Labour movement itself, we had best begin by defining, or rather explaining, our terms.

The term "working-class" is used by many people who have never seriously considered what it means. Some, like the so-called Communist party, use it to mean industrial and manual workers. They do not think of doctors, teachers, scientists, authors and other "professional" people, as members of the working-class. What is even more tragic is that most people in these groups do not appreciate their class position. What in fact determines class is not the kind of work that is engaged in, but the fact of having to work at all.

From this it will be seen that the teacher or the doctor is in the same basic position as the bricklayer or road sweeper. The question is not "Do you wear a white shirt or oily overalls," but "Have you any means of livelihood apart from working?" If the office, bank, school, or laboratory you work in does not belong to you and if rent, interest or profit does not come your way, you can call your wage a salary till the cows come home, but you are a member of the working-class.

The fact that the factories, offices, and the whole apparatus for producing and distributing wealth belong to a parasite minority is not the invention of the wicked socialist imagination. The reverse is the case. The Socialist is a product of class society, but a very special product with a unique purpose.

Many notions have been advanced as to what history and society are all about, but to understand society as a living changing social structure, it is necessary to look to the breaking up of men into antagonistic classes, and to the process of exploitation. All of the institutions of state, law, administration and all private wealth and privilege throughout written history up to present times, rest upon a

surplus of wealth being created by a class of toilers and appropriated by a class of non-working owners. The material interests of each class of owners have been, and remain, completely opposed to the interests of the property-less mass they exploit.

The state as the executive committee of the ruling class is the seat of political power. The institutions of wealth and privilege are legalised and enforced through this political power. The way to ownership of the means of production lies, for workers and capitalists alike, through political power.

On the question of material interests it can be seen why Karl Marx is so feared, hated and abused by the capitalist class.

The bourgeois relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production—antagonistic not in the sense of individual antagonism, but of one arising from conditions surrounding the life of individuals in society; at the same time the productive forces developing in the womb of bourgeois society create the material conditions for the solution of that antagonism.

(Critique of Political Economy)

To get rid of the antagonistic relations of production means getting rid of capitalism. This is what it meant to Marx and Engels, and this is what it means to the Socialist Party of Great Britain. How could the head-fixing experts of T.V., radio, press, pulpit, treat Marx fairly when Marxism says the system of wage-labour, profits and privilege must go? Yet, the idea of abolishing wages, and producing for use, must be grasped by the working class before the terrible problems with which the world is faced, are to be removed. The present system of production for profit is a brake on any rational progress.

Most workers are so accustomed to working for wages that to talk of a world without wages is frightening to them. What they fail to realise is that when the factories, mines, railways, etc., belong to all mankind in common, the fruits of our labour will be freely available without having to meet the demand of the price tag. Wages, far from being a blessing



which we could not do without, represent the debasement of humanity and the divorce of the producers from the means of production.

The wage system takes away from the workers what they produce, and creates a situation in which money becomes the sole end of human endeavour. The worker is reduced to a creature who seeks a wage packet. What he makes, how he makes it, and what becomes of it, is of no importance to him. The fact that a great deal of wealth today is shoddy and inferior is hardly noticed. If he could get more wages digging holes and filling them in again he would be counted silly not to take the job. The capitalist, on the other hand, has no interest in being the owner of thousands of washing-machines or pairs of shoes. His only interest in production is to get as much profit out of it as possible. If one line fails he will try another. Socialism will restore the use motive to everything that is produced. People will then have a direct interest and say in what is produced and how the process is conducted.

The working class have trodden many false paths and taken up many unsound ideas in the course of their history. When sections of organised workers engage in sound action by striking for improved wages or conditions, they receive the almost unanimous condemnation of the Press. This should indicate to them that such action is in their interest. Industrial action on its own is however very limited and has its best chance of success in boom time when the employers need us most. At best, a strike can win the day on a wage issue, but the capitalists still remain in their privileged position as owners of the means of production.

The trade unions have long been subject to much misuse by careerists and job hunters, also on the other hand, many sincere workers have devoted themselves to the task of winning concessions through trade union action. The real strength of trade unions rests on the growing class-consciousness of their members. If the workers understand their class interest they would be able to struggle much more effectively and could not be duped by the double talk of their leaders. The whole record of leadership has been

a very painful one for the working class. Many workers in the "Communist" and Labour Parties, despite disillusionment in the past, still waste their efforts looking for the right leaders. Against all past experience, the idea persists that leaders can do something about the effects of capitalism. In fact, the situation produces and controls the leaders—not the other way around.

Leadership involves the acceptance of an "enlightened" few by an ignorant mass. It is essentially a sheep and dog relationship, except that in this case the dogs do not know where they are going either. Perhaps one of the most famous of all leaders was Lenin, who held:

... that the Soviet Socialist Democracy is in no way inconsistent with the rule and dictatorship of one person; that the will of a class is at times best realised by a dictator, who sometimes will accomplish more by himself and is frequently more needed.

For our part we have always argued that the workers must think for themselves and can only take sound action when they understand the society they live in.

The reformist parties are lost before they start, partly because of the ignorance of their adherents and partly because their policies involve them in retaining capitalism while trying to lighten the problems of that system. In this the parties of the so-called "left" share the fate of the so-called "right." The record of their activities reveals some strange alliances and compromises. Liberals have helped the Labour Party; Tories have been helped by "Communists"; the Liberal, Labour, Conservative and "Communist" parties have worked together in war time. Nazis and "Communists" have made pacts of peace and friendship and all of them are prepared at all times to promise anything that will win votes. All this seems strange until it is realised that the economic dictates of Capitalism, control them all. What is strange is that despite their black records the working class continue to support them.

All of these things, leadership, reformism and political ignorance, interlock and form a sinister pattern. Inevitably political parties which do not seek support to abolish capitalism find themselves immersed in its sordidness. Hypocrisy becomes their stock in trade. They all support war.

They all have to talk the language of nationalism, and stimulate and appeal to nationalist feelings. In this country this means they must all be very British and concerned with the good of the nation. The idea has to be continually

continued right page 29

Meetings

EALING LECTURES
Windsor Hall, Windsor Road, W5
(2 mins Ealing Broadway), at 8 pm

Friday, February 8th
SOCIALISM AND PLANNING
Speaker: E. Hardy

Friday, February 22nd
**NEW POLICIES FOR TRADE
UNIONS**
Speaker: E. Hardy

WEMBLEY LECTURES
Barham Old Court, Barham Park,
Harrow Road, Wembley
Mondays 8 pm

February 11th
**CLASS STRUGGLES IN ANCIENT
ROME**

Speaker: Gilmac
February 25th
FILM: "FOOD OR FAMINE"

LEWISHAM LECTURES
Co-op Hall, Room 1, Davenport Road,
Rushey Green, Catford, SE6
Mondays, 8 pm

February 4th
MATERIALISM

February 11th
WAGES AND PROFITS

February 18th
THE CLASS STRUGGLE

February 25th
TRADE UNIONS

LEWISHAM DEBATE
Friday, February 15th, 7.45 pm
LEWISHAM TOWN HALL

THE LIBERAL CHALLENGE

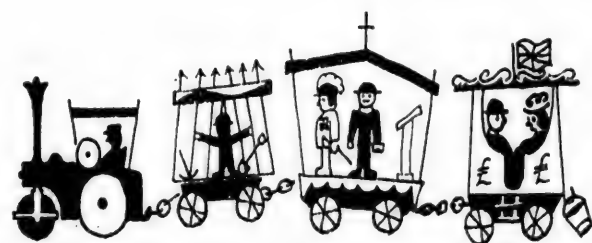
LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays
Hyde Park, 3 pm

East Street
February 3rd (1 pm)
" 10th & 24th (noon)
" 17th (11 am)

Thursdays
Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm
Saturdays
Rushcroft Road, 8 pm

THE PASSING SHOW



The Aucas

Some years ago five men, missionaries of a small Christian sect, went to try and convert to their own beliefs the Auca people, a small tribe living in a remote part of Ecuador. Since the white man has consistently destroyed the Indian way of life and taken the Indians' land from them throughout South America, it was perhaps not surprising that a rumour spread that these five strangers were cannibals, who had come to kill and eat the Aucas; the Aucas, as a result, killed them all.

Elisabeth Elliot, the widow of one of the men, was also a missionary among the Quichua Indians; and after her husband's death she became acquainted with two Auca women. Later, very bravely, she went with these women and with her own young daughter to live with the Auca tribe for a year. She has now written a book about her experiences, *The Savage My Kinsman* (Hodder and Stoughton, 37s. 6d.).

She was, she says, "immediately impressed with the Aucas' dignity and simplicity." They were "an exceptionally robust tribe. I found no diseases among them except one or two uncertain cases of malaria, and the common cold. There were none of the 'children's diseases' of civilization: mumps, measles, chicken-pox, whooping-cough, scarlet fever. I treated some infected sores, but the Indians had a remarkable resistance to these and seemed to recover equally well without treatment of any kind." The women grow crops of manioc and plantain, and the men spend most of the day hunting; with the animals and fish they catch they support "their wives, sisters, in-laws, and any widows who happen to be living with them or next door." The Aucas, moreover, "had no use for money or anything else which might have served as a trade item."

Without Charge

The Auca has his own ideas of behaviour, says the author:

... he shares his one small monkey with the widow next door. He does not greet a friend or bid him good-bye, but he

entertains without charge any guest who happens to drop in, even if he is a Quichua Indian whom he has never seen before. He does not wear clothing, but he has a strict code of modesty and is totally free from preoccupation with the human body, and all the absurd inhibitions this involves.

The Aucas, being so few in number, are a close-knit group, but there is no central authority of any kind. Every man is his own boss. The only social unit is the family, although there seems to be no marriage ceremony as such.

The firm belief of civilized man, in fact, that all savages have a "chief" who is a kind of dictator (a misconception based on a misunderstanding of the role of the war-leader who emerges when tribes fight each other) was as usual found to be false.

The author tells us more about the Aucas' social customs (and she cannot have been prejudiced in their favour):

During my entire visit, I never saw the slightest friction between a husband and wife. Only rarely did I hear an Auca criticize another behind his back... Malicious gossip was rare among the savages. In fact, many of our civilized sins were conspicuous by their absence. I noticed almost no vanity or personal pride, no covetousness or avarice. Intoxication was unknown. The men were not lazy, or selfish with the spoils of their hunting.

In short, I had to face the fact that socially I had nothing whatever to offer the Aucas.

No prayer

It is, incidentally, interesting to record the author's conclusion that "the Auca has, so far as I know, no form of religion. He knows nothing of prayer, sacrifice, worship or placating evil spirits, although he believes in their existence." So much for another cherished belief of civilized man, that all savages are caught in an implacable web of religious beliefs and observances. Apparently if anyone

is caught in the web, it is civilized man.

A fleabite

The Aucas are still clearly living in a society of primitive Communism, or something very close to it, right into this modern era. We were all living in this kind of society up to perhaps five or, at the most, seven thousand years ago, and in some parts of the world even now private property has not yet been able to impose itself. Man has been on this earth 500 thousand years (the latest theories would extend this time to something like one and three-quarter million years) and throughout that time he has lived in a primitive Communist society—up to this very moment in remote areas: even in the most "civilized" parts of the world the length of time man has suffered under private property systems is a mere fleabite compared to the vast ages that went before.

And still we are told that Socialism or Communism, a system of common ownership or of no ownership at all, is somehow "against human nature"! If anything is against "human nature," (whatever that may be), it is clearly private property.

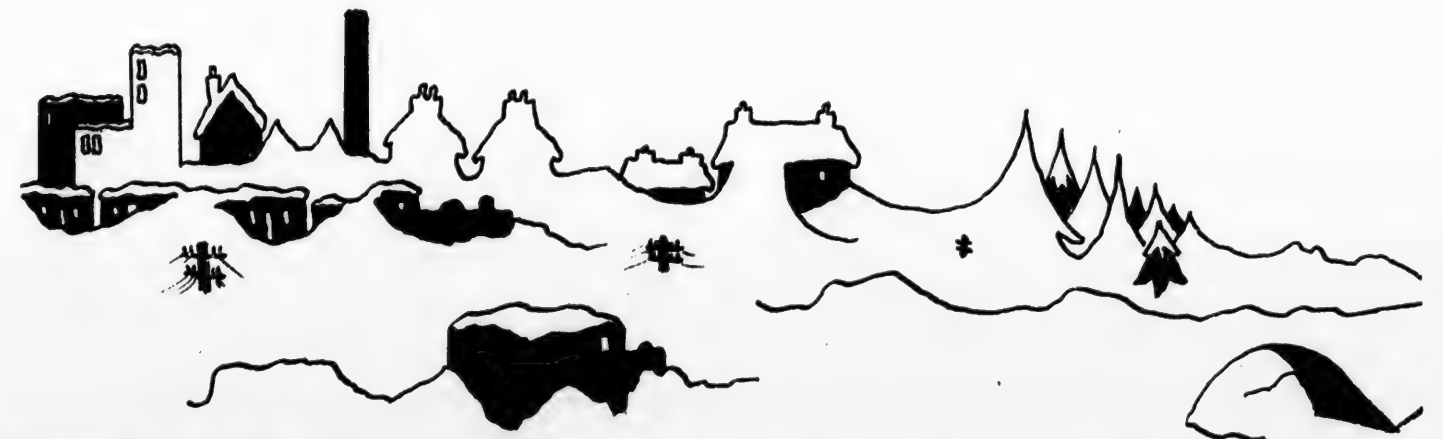
A new society

No one, of course, wants to return to primitive Communism, even if that were possible. The Aucas, for example, sometimes become involved in warfare, and lose men killed in fighting. (Although civilized men, who are now openly planning to destroy each other's cities, perhaps have not much ground to criticize them on that score.) But Socialists do want to go forward to a new society, in which all the good points of primitive Communism (the absence of "civilized sins," the comradeship and co-operation, the abolition of "central authorities"—in short, the much greater happiness and contentment) can be combined with the material comforts which Capitalism has produced. And nothing prevents us going forward to that society except that the mass of the working class have never realized that it is possible.

ALWYN EDGAR.

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SOCIALIST STANDARD



THE BIG FREEZE-UP

No politician can be blamed for the weather. It is the miserable failure of capitalism to face up to natural catastrophes which concern us. There will be summer and winter under Socialism. There will be the utmost social effort to overcome the effects of weather extremes. It is the profit motive which really keeps us cold in winter—not the weather.

page 35

page 38 **LABOUR'S NEW LEADER**

41 **THE WASTE OF CAPITALISM**

46 **OLD TIME MUSIC HALL**

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Branches

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY 1st and 3rd Thursdays (7th & 21st Mar.) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4. Correspondence: SPGB 26 Trelawn Road, S.W.2.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, 1st Mar. at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 15th Mar. at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W.12.

GLASGOW Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, N.W.

HACKNEY Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N.5.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

Groups

BRIGHTON Meetings Fridays, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

BROMLEY For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

COVENTRY 1st and 3rd Mondays (4th and 18th Mar.) 7.30 pm, 60 Alma Street, Off Lower Ford St. Enquiries: Secretary, at above address.

EARLS COURT & DISTRICT Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., S.W.1. Tel: VIC 0427.

MID HERTS Enquiries: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield (Phone Hatfield 4802). Regular monthly discussions at above address.

LEWISHAM Wednesdays 6th & 20th Mar. 8.15 pm. Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, 2 Davenport Road, SE6.

NOTTINGHAM 2nd Wednesday in month (13th Mar.) 8 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street, Carrington, Nottingham. Correspondence: G. Hallam, 14 Church Drive, Carrington, Nottingham.

PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W.1 (near Marylebone Rd.) Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W.11.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX 2nd and 4th Monday in month (11th and 25th Mar.) 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

SWANSEA 1st and 3rd Monday (4th and 18th Mar.) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W.5

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (14th and 28th Mar.) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane, Romford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 8.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, near "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (8th and 22nd Mar.) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE.18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: M. Hopwood, 4 St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale, Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Enquiries: T. Lord 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran near Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

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March 1963 Vol 59 No 703

SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF
GREAT BRITAIN



THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

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Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings etc. for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

NEWS IN REVIEW 36

Unemployment figures
Expense of cold weather
The Common Market
Civil Disobedience
Arms Budget

ON APATHY 38

LABOUR'S NEW LEADER 38

FINANCE AND INDUSTRY 40

WASTE, INEFFICIENCY & CHAOS 41

TROTSKYISM OR SOCIALISM 42

BLESSINGS OF SOCIALISM 43

BRANCH NEWS 44

A TOT OF RELIGION 44

A "SOCIAL EVIL" 45

BRITAIN AND FRANCE 45

OLD TIME MUSIC HALL 46

THE PASSING SHOW 48

The big freeze-up

The recent Arctic spell has seriously tried Britain's power and transport systems. Many people argue that these services have been found wanting, and the Opposition demands to know why the Government has not increased the number of power plants to meet any heavy demand which is likely to occur every decade or so. Government officials state clearly that much expenditure would result in idle capital, because plant might not be needed for long periods. These two words "idle capital" sum up the whole situation. They explain why the lights go low, the coal cellars remain bare and hospitals have no emergency power units at times of climatic misbehaviour.

Our ruling class does not like good money tied up in empty factories, shut-down railway lines and unused power plants. Production of power is based on a market of average consumption over a given period, with due allowance for increased demand or declining use. This dominates the volume of investment and to demand additional plant and maintenance when it is obvious that no profit would be forthcoming from such little used power is horrifying to any capitalist or to those who administer capitalist society. So when our climate plays havoc with statistics and averages, millions have to suffer inconvenience and some are even reaped in the grim harvest of death and injury.

Many other things which come to a halt in freeze-ups bear baleful testimony to the effects of the profit motive. Plumbing, exposed to the elements, because generally it was expensive to enclose, bursts and floods homes with grim monotony. Gas mains fracture and people die because even after years of heavy use not enough has been spent on trying to remove the lethal danger from coal gas. Railway points become frozen stiff and are tackled by methods that are known to have only partial success in a damp climate. Why is this? Because effective methods are expensive and a railway system already in debt cannot afford anything better. Travellers will have to wait, not just for a cure, but for one that is cheap. Roads become like ice-rinks and councils struggle along with inadequate and limited cleaning equipment, all the time keeping their eye on the cost. Ratepayers have votes, and expenditure is political fireworks at election times.

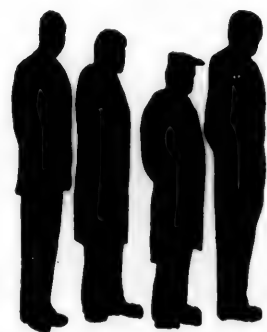
Even the half million regular out of work, swollen by weather conditions to over 800,000, are not brought into use. Extra labour means extra wage bills and extra tools and machinery. What profit after all can be made out of masses of men on snow clearance? For the administration such work is just a financial but necessary drain, although makers of snow clearing equipment selling to realise a profit have other ideas. Thus we have the spectacle of unemployed men turned away from Council yards while pavements remain frozen and dangerous.

And the fiasco goes on, one section of capitalists trying to keep down the costs while another, such as the insurance companies with claims now running into more than £18 millions, urges future expenditure and safeguards. One joke in the muddle is the collapse of the smokeless fuel supplies as a bitter east wind blowing over capitalism's cities makes a jest of the planners' smokeless zones. In the meantime, workers line up for a pittance at the labour exchange or a pram full of coal at the sidings. The Press, to divert our grumbles, pours out pints of journalistic ink with sad stories such as that about Buckingham Palace being blacked out for eight minutes.

True, no politician can be blamed for the weather. It is the miserable failure of capitalism to face up to natural catastrophes which concerns us. There will be summer and winter under Socialism. There will also be the utmost social effort to overcome the effects of weather extremes. It is the profit motive which really keeps us cold in winter—not the weather.

THE NEWS IN REVIEW

Unemployment figures



The unemployment figures keep on rising and the government assure us that we have not seen the last of them yet.

Mr. Hare, the Minister of Labour, has blamed the weather for some of the unemployment and pleads that that is something which he cannot be expected to have foreseen.

The economic experts have sharpened their pencils and have swamped the government with their advice. The government, of course, has already plenty of its own experts with their schemes and

advice; unemployment increases despite them.

Are the experts, then, so useless? Many of them have had a long and expensive education. They have access to all sorts of information which is supposed to help them in their planning to control capitalism.

It is fair to expect them to come up with something special when the problem demands it, as unemployment does.

Well, have they?

Consider, for one, the experts em-

ployed by *The Guardian*. We might have expected that newspaper, with its tradition of sometimes saying the unusual, to have some startling proposals on the out of work problem. And in a way that is what they did have. Here is what *The Guardian's* first leader proposed, among other similar suggestions, on January 25th:

Lastly, could the schools not be asked to take back all those pre-Christmas school-leavers who have still not found jobs? To lay on proper teaching might not be easy; but better that they should be in classrooms than waiting idly at home or on the street corners.

Read that again, slowly. Ask yourself whether sending back to school the youngsters who have only just left, whose parents are probably relying upon them to help the housekeeping budget, and for whom you know there are not enough teachers, is a solution to the unemployment problem—or even a sensible suggestion.

Then ask yourself if the experts can do anything about capitalism's shortcomings. And wonder why you do not do something about them yourself.



The expense of cold weather

Most of us have had our grumble about the Arctic conditions which have had us in their grip since the end of last year. The weather itself is beyond anyone's control, but is there nothing that can be done about the effects of it?

Some of the electricity failures in the Big Freeze Up were caused by frozen insulators on the power lines. This problem could be avoided—and incidentally some lovely landscapes preserved—if the lines were carried underground. But the Central Electricity Generating Board claims that this would cost up to eighteen times more than hitching the lines up to pylons and would, therefore, not be worthwhile.

Some of the breakdowns and delays on the railways were the result of frozen points. This is something which could have been solved easily, in a number of ways long ago, but the railways were reluctant to invest in something which they might not want to use very often.

The efforts at clearing snowbound

roads were simply pitiful. But the government reasons that there is no sense in keeping a lot of expensive snow clearing equipment which will probably lie idle for about eight years in every ten. And that seems to clinch the argument against having it.

Over here, in short, capitalism gambles on the weather; something it cannot do in other countries where extreme conditions happen more regularly. From the point of view of the British capitalist there is no sense in spending money preparing for something which is likely to come along very occasionally. That is why Britain is so often caught napping by severe cold or floods or some other vagary of the weather.

Anyway, it is only the working class who bear the brunt of the weather. It is only their houses which become draughty hell-holes in the winter. It is poor, working class pensioners who silently die of cold in their unheated rooms, cut off from the hurrying world outside,

It is the working class who have to face the added torture of the rush hour, on rail or road, in the icy spells.

Capitalism has always shown a ruthless concern for its own economic priorities. So can we expect it to spend money uneconomically to prevent such suffering? Not likely, we can't.

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays

Hyde Park, 3 pm

East Street

March 3rd and 24th (11 am)

March 10th (1 pm)

March 17th and 31st (noon)

Mondays

Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1-2 pm

Thursdays

Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm

Saturdays

Rushcroft Road, 8 pm

The Common Market

Well, it didn't come off.

Mr. Heath and his men came back defeated from Brussels and presented the British public with another bogey man who was yesterday's friend. President de Gaulle is now the evil man of British capitalism.

The Beaverbrook press took a somewhat different view, implying hopefully that the British government had seen the light from the *Express* building and had themselves broken off the negotiations.

"And Now—Forward," screamed the *Express* headlines. Forward, we may ask, to what? Whatever the *Express*, or the Government, or anyone else, has to offer can only be another of capitalism's gambles.

When the British government decided, several years ago, against joining the European Common Market, they were gambling. When they decided that that gamble had failed they put their money on another—on the application to join

Europe. They made it quite clear that that was a gamble, that they were not sure whether membership of the EEC would benefit them or not.

So it is with all capitalism's attempts to defeat its own problems.

President de Gaulle is gambling, now that Europe can unite as an independent capitalist power dominated by a Franco-German axis. But there have been plenty of other such gambles and plenty of other such pacts and many of them have failed even by capitalism's standards. There is no reason to assume that France and Germany, whatever their pact says, will not end up fighting one another again.

Capitalism, in fact, is one big gamble. Since its fortunes hang on the tail of its unpredictable market, it can never be sure of what to do to secure its own interests.

The great tragedy is that the gambles are always paid off in working class lives and security.



Civil Disobedience

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, as it breaks up into its opposing factions, is displaying some typical symptoms of the dying reformist organisation.

One of the unilateralists' arguments has been—and this applies especially to the Committee of 100—that nuclear weapons were such a threat to human society that anything was justified which helped to get rid of them.

Demonstrations and marches were justified. So was civil disobedience, like sitting down in the roadway. The Socialist Party of Great Britain, we were told, would be justified in forgetting about Socialism to campaign against the bomb. Recently, stirring up and exploiting social unrest at places like the LCC accommodation centres was justified on the same grounds.

This must have convinced many people that the unilateralists were prepared to go to any lengths to save us from nuclear annihilation.

It certainly seems to have convinced

those soldiers who want to form an active CND group in the Services.

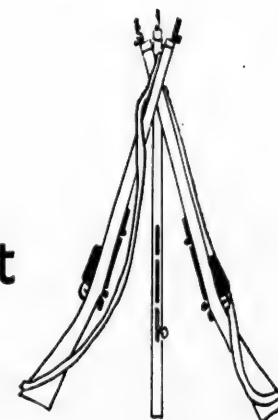
But the unilateralists will not touch this one with a barge-pole. Because what the soldiers are trying to do amounts to inciting troops to disaffection, and for that you can find yourself in jail for seven years.

That is too much for the campaigners, even for the reckless Committee of 100. So they have all officially disassociated themselves from any move which can be interpreted as stirring up disaffection in the Forces.

It was, of course, the unilateralists who first said that people should be prepared to face imprisonment in the cause of banning the bomb. But having urged this futile action on their followers, what sort of consistency is it which then shrinks from seven years in jail?

We know that the unilateralists are breaking up. Are they at the same time cooling down? Are they, as we said they might, becoming respectable?

Arms Budget



There are no surprises in the United States Budget for the coming year.

The American capitalist class expects to be spending a total of \$98.8 billions during the twelve months up to June 30th, 1964, and of this well over half—\$55.4 billions—will be spent on the armed forces and their weapons. In addition, \$4.2 billions will go to space research and technology where, we fear, the weapons of the future will be conceived and designed.

This sort of expenditure has been rising steadily over the past few years; the USA now has an impressive nuclear arsenal to show for the money it has spent.

There are about 650 American bombers on a fifteen minute ground alert and more than 200 missiles ready to be fired from the ground. Apart from these, 114 missiles are in Polaris submarines, prowling beneath the seas.

Arms expenditure, then, is the first pre-occupation of the Washington Budget just as it must be for any capitalist government which knows that its international interests are threatened by a rival.

Other things must take their place, lower down the queue. The USA will spend \$0.3 billion on housing next year—less than in the current year—\$5.6 billions on health, labour and welfare and \$1.5 billion on education.

It is no coincidence that the very things which could make human life a little easier are the least likely to get any money spent on them, while the things which are meant to kill and destroy are lavished with funds.

Capitalism works that way.

The WESTERN SOCIALIST

Journal for Socialism
in the
U.S.A and Canada

6d monthly

THE BLIND Labour's new leader

FOR THE MOMENT, at any rate, the firing has ceased. And out of the settling dust of battle, a little tattered but nevertheless smiling heartily, has come Mr. Wilson, confirmed by the votes of anxious Labour M.P.s as the Labour Party's new leader and perhaps, therefore, the next Prime Minister of this country.

Some time before the first ballot, the fighting lines had been drawn up. Certain M.P.s announced that they were sponsoring one or other of the original three candidates and some newspapers came down for the man of their choice. *The Guardian* wanted Callaghan as long as he was in the race; *The Economist* wanted George Brown.

Everybody was wondering: Who will win? Nobody seemed to be interested in asking the question which really counts: Does it matter?

Gaitskell's death has been described as a great blow to the Labour Party and to the people of this country. As usually happens when an eminent somebody dies, all sorts of people have rushed to the television or the radio or the newspaper to tell us what a great man Gaitskell was. How wise. How knowledgeable. How honest. And as well as all this, how gay. Countless fellow-politicians have gone

out of their way to draw attention to supposed qualities in Gaitskell which these same men had assiduously ignored when he was alive. We should all be feeling shattered. It seems that the Labour leader's death was a bit of massively bad luck for us all.

It was, of course, no time to dwell upon Hugh Gaitskell's political mistakes. No time to recall that he blundered over Suez, when he openly appealed to Conservative M.P.s to desert the government—a move which, of course, stirred up the Tories' loyalty and so had the opposite effect to that which Gaitskell intended. No time, either, to recall the mistake over Clause Four, when Gaitskell first aroused the muddled pioneer element in the Labour Party and then hastily withdrew from the battle, when he must have known all along that he could ignore Clause Four anyway. Gaitskell's period as leader was a succession of public rows in the Labour Party, accompanied by the expected nervous assurances that the party was solidly united. It is doubtful that, if he had been made Prime Minister, he would have been remembered as one in the crafty, ruthless mould of, say, a Lloyd George nor as one in the casual, contemptuous mould of a Macmillan.

As he died, Gaitskell seemed to be coming up for his turn at the top job. Now that the government's popularity is registering such a low point, with even the weather co-operating in making them seem inefficient, the Labour Party is all in a sweat that their fortunes should hold until the next polling day. Labour M.P.s now go carefully, lest a word or a vote out of place should upset the delicately balanced apple cart upon which they hope to be wheeled in triumph to Westminster. It is, of course, an open question whether the Tories will work the old trick again and, as in 1959 when many people, including Gaitskell, expected the Labour Party to take power, turn all the forecasts upside down. If this happens we may be sure that there will be more rows in the Labour Party, with the disappointed office-seekers blaming the new leader for yet another defeat.

Perhaps Labour's greatest difficulty is the theory, which seems so popular among workers, that the Conservatives are the natural ruling party of British capitalism and that the Labour Party is a bunch of rather reckless dogmatists. When we remember the unmistakable way in which the Attlee government ran British capitalism—breaking strikes,

ON APATHY

The Socialist is a confirmed optimist. His optimism is the natural outcome of his conviction of the soundness of his principles and his faith in his class. Pessimism can only come from doubt of one or the other, or both, therefore pessimism is not permissible in a Socialist, and where it shows its dour visage, calls aloud for attention to the victim's dietary, either of the mind or the stomach.

But though the Socialist's confidence that the future is with him, reduces pessimism to a symptom of ill-health, even the healthy, vigorous revolutionary may become impatient without suspecting himself of being out of sorts.

And when one thinks of the attitude of mind of the working class as

a class toward our movement, of the apathy with which they receive our message, of the dull forbearance with which they accept the contemptuous husks that the master class throw to them, it is small wonder that the enlightened worker sometimes grows impatient at the slowness of the pace, and curses the inertia of the proletarian mass in deep, broad and bitter terms.

Of course, the Socialist knows that industrial evolution will make the working class revolutionary; but he has been used to regard himself and his Socialist principles—revolutionary products of that same industrial evolution—as the instrument through which it works, and it is here that the impatience and disappointment is bred. It is easy enough to find accept-

ance of our message wherever our means enable us to deliver it. Our arguments are too powerful to be withstood; our reasoning is too close to be denied. But after all, what difference is there between he who apathetically admits the correctness of our position and that other who passively differs from us?

Socialism does not thrive on inactivity. The passive assenter is a corpse in this act, and Socialism can only be brought in by live men and women. It is not passive agreement that is wanted, but fighters—organised workers. It is possible to carry on our propaganda without money, but without workers never.

(From "A Call to Arms"
SOCIALIST STANDARD March 1913.)

freezing wages, protecting the overseas interests of the British capitalist class—we know how laughable this theory is. Nevertheless, it exists, and there are certain historical reasons for it doing so.

At one time the Labour Party was loaded with theorists. They had their share of men like Strachey and Cripps who knew something about political theory and could argue it. Both these men were, naturally, sober and respectable upholders of capitalist virtue in the 1945 Labour government. But presumably the memory of the things they said in the old days dies hard. Cripps, for one, was once an outstanding nuisance to the Labour Party, which expelled him for his activities in the Socialist League. Even when, as Minister of Aircraft Production, he was organising the making of the bombers which pounded the German cities, and when as Chancellor of the Exchequer he was fighting to hold down wages, the taint of his earlier indiscretions still hung about him. He was never a popular minister.

The past

Nor does it end there. It is typical of the confusion in Labour Party thinking that it should keep in its Constitution quaint traces of democracy which clash directly with its desire to take over British capitalism. These traces are vestiges of the days when the theorists were farther from power than they are today, and therefore were safer and more respected. *The Economist*, on January 26th, was fretting about one of these vestiges:

The most appalling feature of the parliamentary Labour Party's constitution is that it provides for this sort of election for the party leadership to take place every year... there is unhappily no guarantee that whoever is elected leader next month will be accorded similar security of tenure (as Mr. Gaitskell)...

What is capitalism to make of a party which in theory can elect a new Prime Minister every year? A party which does not know whether it wants to run capitalism or to appear to be a democratic organisation?

This was something of what Hugh Gaitskell was trying, albeit clumsily, to destroy. He was the leader who made it clear that the decisions of Labour conferences could be ignored by a future Labour government. This was something which Attlee had always appreciated; it was typical of Gaitskell that he chose to fight a public battle over an issue which he had won before he started. Perhaps Gaitskell saw his party's salvation in their openly becoming another Conservative Party, entirely

shorn of theorists and standing only as a responsible administration for British capitalism. There has never been any fundamental difference between the two parties anyway. Samuel Brittan, Economic Editor of *The Observer*, is one who has realised this. On January 27th last he wrote:

One of the myths of British politics is that there is a huge difference between the Conservative and Labour Parties. Businessmen in particular tend to suppose that a change of Government would bring a radical change in the whole economic environment. Faced with this myth it is hardly worth saying: "No such luck! The basic approach of the two parties is all too depressingly similar."

If the Labour Party are an alternative administration for British capitalism, we may well think that the ruling class sometimes wish that they were a stronger alternative. A party which seems almost unable to lose an election, as the Tories have seemed for so long, could be a nuisance to some sections of the capitalist class. Such a party could come to think that it was virtually unbeatable at election time and so could do whatever it liked. Capitalism does not want such a government. It wants a government which is open to pressure, a government which can be moulded, a government which treads carefully. So capitalism needs an alternative government always ready. It must have been greatly disappointed in the Labour Party over the past few years.

And for the future? The result of the ballot can make no difference. The newspapers may have got het up over the various candidates, but the fact is that this is all a waste of time. The next Labour Prime Minister will run capitalism, as far as he can, just as the Tories have run it—in the interests of the capitalist class. He will make war, if British capitalism demands it. He will oppress the working class just as much as ruling class interests say they must be oppressed. He will fight the workers over their wages and working conditions just as any other Prime Minister has done. He will, for example, be concerned to restrict wage claims as far as possible. This is what Mr. Harold Wilson wrote about wage claims in the *Manchester Guardian* on October 25th, 1957:

Whether... a Conservative Government can now create the conditions in which wage restraint could once again become a reality is a matter for opinion...

For a Labour Government, no less than for the Conservatives, success or failure in the battle against inflation would depend on its ability to secure an understanding with the unions which would make wage restraint possible.

Here the Labour Party attitude to wages is set out clear. They know that capitalism cannot allow unrestricted wages for its workers and they argue that they, with their special connections with the Trade Union movement, are better equipped to hold them down than are the Tories. Which shows how little the working class can hope for from a future Labour government.

Hugh Gaitskell is gone to his untimely end and nobody wants to be mean about that. But the facts must be made clear. Leaders may come and go, but capitalism will go on until the very people who support and admire the leaders come to understand the social system they live under. The leaders always say, as Gaitskell used to, that they stand for a world of peace and human dignity. But only when the system which needs the leaders is gone will their empty and cynical words become reality.

IVAN.

SOCIALIST STANDARD 1963

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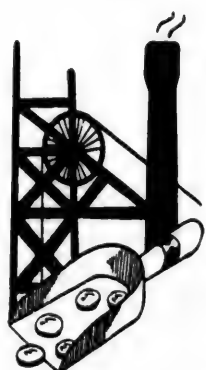
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FINANCE AND INDUSTRY



STEEL

In the doldrums

At a cost of £100 million and more than eight years work Colvilles have just opened a new steel plant in Scotland. A few weeks earlier the similar Spencer mill in South Wales was put into operation by Richard Thomas and Baldwins. Each plant is capable of producing about 750,000 tons of steel a year and these figures could be doubled fairly easily with further development.

Both projects are in fact the result of a Tory Government compromise. The original idea was to build just one plant of one million tons capacity, but there was such a struggle over whether it was to be sited in Wales or in Scotland that it was finally decided to allow one mill to each area (the Government could do this as it was putting up most of the money). Altogether an interesting sidelight on the ways of our political planners, though it must be added that their "expert" advisers then were quite sure that there would be ample room for both plants by 1963. The steel industry was booming and it looked as though it would continue so.

Alas for their prophecies. The Scottish mill is in fact working at only 20 per cent. of capacity and the Welsh one is hardly better. The industry as a whole is ticking over at about 70 per cent. of capacity and output in 1962, far from rising as originally expected, was actually 4 million tons less than in 1960. The prospects are hardly less dim for 1963.

What has happened, of course, is that British steel producers, and nearly all the other steel producers of the world, have widely miscalculated in their estimates of demand. Each nation has invested during the last ten years vast quantities of capital in new and bigger steelworks. It would be too much to imagine that they have done this without being aware that all their rivals were doing the same—capitalists are hardly as stupid as that—

but there is certainly no reason to suppose that they did not know the risks.

The harsh reality is that capitalists, either as individuals or as national groups, have to engage in these insane activities if they are to maintain their positions in the race. So we see the United States, Germany, Japan, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Italy and the U.K.—having spent huge sums in expanding their iron and steel production—all faced with a large proportion of this plant lying idle for lack of orders.

INVESTMENT

French eyes on the U.S.

Having already upset the United States by keeping Britain out of the Common Market, the French Government is needling them still further. It is trying to persuade the other members of the Six to take a closer look at the way American capital is penetrating into Europe.

Three incidents have recently helped to spark this off. The first was the way in which Chrysler got control over Simca, the French car makers (see below); the second was the big project by Libby, the American food firm to establish a canning factory in the newly irrigated region in the south of France; and third has been the recent closing of the Remington typewriter works at Caluire and the transfer of its production to Holland.

If the French intention is to stop American capital coming into Europe, and even into France, it is wasting its time. Capitalism, whether American or any other variety, hates a vacuum and if there is any prospect of profit they will seek a way of getting it. But the Remington incident is rather interesting since it echoes something similar nearer home.

At the end of February, the Glasgow factory of Remington Rand paid off over a thousand of its workers. The reason? The same as in France—lack of orders. And, again as in France, production of typewriters (portables only this time) will be concentrated in Holland. A nice illustration of the international workings of modern capitalism.

CARS

Chrysler gets a hold

Of the Big Three in the American motor industry (Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler), only Chrysler have not

managed to get themselves established in Europe. At least until recently.

Now, by crafty manoeuvrings behind the scenes, largely via Switzerland, they have managed to acquire 63 per cent. of the shares in Simca, the big French car manufacturers. This, of course, means financial control. They are now in a position to do battle in the European market with their fellow American companies; with Ford and their plants at Dagenham and Cologne, and with General Motors at Luton (Vauxhall) and Rüsselsheim (Opel).

As a producer, Simca is not as big as Opel nor is it quite up to Ford, Germany. It is comparable, however, with Dagenham and bigger than Vauxhall. At the same time, though it is the smallest of the French producers, it is the second biggest exporter; it seems clear, therefore, that Chrysler will not wait long before carrying their struggle with their competitors in the United States, into Europe.

Just to add spice to the situation, the big Italian firm of Fiat also holds shares in Simca—about 25 per cent. Latest reports from France are that Fiat has just set up a large-scale network of agents to sell their cars there. At the same time, Simca are busily exporting to Italy.

There are many people who firmly believe that the capitalist system makes sense. They ought to take a long, hard look at the international motor industry.

MONOPOLY

A little light

The *Economist* reported recently that the electric light bulb manufacturers are increasing their prices by 5 to 10 per cent. Apparently they have all come to this idea at the same time.

Once upon a time, when they belonged to ELMA (the Electric Light Fittings Association) they used to make this kind of decision whilst freely admitting at the same time that they had all got together to make it. But the Monopolies Commission stepped in and they were compelled to disband the Association.

Now, apparently, they follow the practice of courteously telling their fellow companies beforehand of forthcoming price changes. The arrangement is known as an "information agreement," the essential difference from what they did before being that it is not registrable with the Restrictive Practices Court.

Another example of how, under capitalism, the more things change, the more they remain the same.

S. H.

WASTE, INEFFICIENCY AND CHAOS

Freeze-up

EVERYONE KNOWS about the world-wide waste of armaments and the destructiveness of war, but quite a lot of people have a feeling that capitalism is really rather marvellous in the way it gets things done; quickly, cheaply, efficiently and all tailor-made to the requirements of "the customer who is always right."

You only have to spell it out like this to see what a laugh it is.

And whether it is fact or only a misleading impression, there seems to have been more and more criticism in recent years of what is done and the way it is done. Readers of *Which*, the *Shopper's*

Guide and the *Daily Press* and any who spend a few hours browsing in the Molony Report on "Consumer Protection" will have had confirmed in general what they already know from particular experience, that capitalist production's smiling image isn't a bit like the reality. (And when we read about Khrushchev telling the Russians to improve their efficiency by copying the western capitalist countries it gives a grim impression about Russian standards.)

But in January and February of 1963 the shivering inhabitants of Britain had an unprecedented opportunity (worst for

a century) of watching and suffering from capitalism's deficiencies—the blocked roads and railways, the frozen pipes, the failures of gas and electricity supply and inability to get coal because the millions of unsaleable tons were stored in places made inaccessible by snow and frost.

The Molony Committee said in their Report (Para. 12) that apart from solid fuel, they had not thought fit to consider whether "the consumer" needed protection against the nationalised power industries (gas and electricity) because "their functions, duties and monopolistic relationship to the public have been determined as a matter of governmental policy and there is no room to apply the ordinary consumer/retailer/producer principles." Its meaning is rather hard to define, but in January and February quite a lot of would-be but frustrated consumers could have told the Molony Committee a thing or two.

The supply difficulties in cold weather led to demands that the gas and electricity authorities should have surplus capacity in hand to meet emergencies and that they and other suppliers of services should be organised to deal with cold spells.

The howls of complaint were very loud because this time it wasn't just the poor who were going without but often the rich as well: no such volume of criticisms are heard in other winters when supplies are sufficient and only those who can't afford to pay suffer.

The Gas and Electricity Boards defended themselves with the plea that it isn't necessary to have a lot of capacity lying idle for ten months a year just for use in the cold spells. The *Guardian* backed them up, declaring that to have enough surplus capacity would cost something over £100 million. "This would not be good sense but extravagance."

Here speaks the true voice of capitalism. Thousands of millions of pounds on armaments, yes, but not a tenth of that amount on providing something useful which might not pay! To the capitalist, capital, whether privately invested or in the nationalised industries must earn its proper return. Idle capital like workers idling on the employers time makes them shudder.

H.



The May Socialist Standard will be a special issue on the housing problem. 20 pages, illustrated, 6d



Trotskyism or Socialism

TROTSKYISTS CLAIM that the Labour leadership has "betrayed Socialism." In fact they themselves are no more Socialists than are Wilson, George Brown or Frank Cousins.

What is today known as Trotskyism originated about forty years ago as an opposition movement within the Russian Communist Party to the Stalin leadership, and much of Trotskyist theory is concerned with the nature of Russian society. To them Russia is not Capitalist, but a "degenerate Workers' State." They argue that the 1917 Revolution ended Capitalism in Russia but that a few years later, as a result of the failure of the world revolution, a bureaucracy was able to usurp power from the workers. This means that Russia still remains for them "a basis for the international State for the abolition of war, for possibilities as yet undreamed of" (*The World Revolution*, C. L. R. James), and it is the duty of the workers of the world, we are told, to defend this gain.

If the Soviet Union goes down, then Socialism receives a blow which will cripple it for a generation. And therefore, though seeing the Soviet Union as it is, the Trotskyists, uncompromising enemies of Stalinism, will defend the Soviet Union in peacetime as in war.

(*ibid* pp. 418-9).

The question now arises: Is the Russian economic system "progressive"? Is it any more Socialist than that of the West? We answer that it is not. The economic system in Russia exhibits all the essential characteristic of Capitalism: production for sale, wages, markets, money and profits. Certainly a large part of industry is nationalised but nationalisation is nothing to do with Socialism. As for war, its basic primary cause is Capitalism's struggle for markets, raw materials and trade routes; since the workers throughout the world have no interest in the maintenance of Capitalism so they have no interest in the prosecution of its wars. The Socialist in fact expresses his unqualified opposition to all wars, whether they be wars of aggression, of "defence" or "national liberation," for "democracy" or for anything else. We do not just say, as do pacifists, that men should not fight in wars, but that men should reorganize society to remove

the cause of war. Socialism will do away with war since trading and markets will disappear when goods are no longer produced to be sold. Socialists see no reason therefore why the workers of the world should fight and die for Russian Capitalism any more than for British or American or any other Capitalism.

The argument about the "progressive economic system" has even less merit than that employed by those alleged Socialists before the first World War, who held that the workers must be prepared to defend the democratic institutions of their country "because it is the only means by which they can peaceably achieve their emancipation." For Russia is not even a democratic country: the workers there have to put up with a dictatorship which denies them the most elementary rights needed to protect their interests—the right to organise politically and the right to strike. Yet the Trotskyists are prepared to make common cause with these, and with similar dictators. They acted as recruiting sergeants in Cuba when the Castro clique was threatened by an American backed invasion in April last year. "Workers' and anti-imperialist organisations and parties," declared the Trotskyist Fourth International, "must immediately organize brigades, open recruiting for volunteers to defend the Cuban Workers State."

A cardinal point in the programme of the Trotskyist groups in Britain is nationalization under workers' control. *Young Guard* (March, 1962) expands this:

... we can say that trade unions under socialism should concern themselves with all questions of wages, conditions, automation (and in these problems they should always have at their disposal the right to strike). But at the same time we should press for the establishment and recognition of the factory committee, whose purpose is the participation with the state in all matters of control and administration of wealth production.

The reference to wages implies, of course, the existence of an employer, presumably the State, and that the workers should co-operate with this employer. We point out at once that a society in which people still have to work for wages cannot be called Socialism. Socialism is

based on common ownership, which means that money, wages, profits, buying and selling and all the other features of private property society will have disappeared. The wages system is in fact one of the cornerstones of Capitalism and for this reason we distinguish it from other systems by the fact that those who produce work for wages. The wages system is completely incompatible with Socialism and to talk about a "Socialist wages policy" is nonsense.

What is the Socialist alternative to the wages system? First, let us look at this system a little closer. The wages system cannot flourish unless most people, to all intents and purposes, own none of the means of production, while a few own them all. The majority therefore have no choice: they must work for those who own. Socialism by making the means of production common property will end this inequality of wealth on which the wages system flourishes. What common ownership will mean is that nobody will be denied free access to the means of living, and the ownership of these means by individuals will appear quite as fantastic as does slavery today. Under these conditions the satisfaction of man's needs will be the sole end of production: the Labour Exchange will disappear along with the Stock Exchange.

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How people live under Capitalism is well known. Those who have no ownership in the means of production sell their energies and abilities for a wage and use the money received to buy what they need to maintain themselves and their family in working order. Under Socialism people will work and receive as much as they think they need: they will freely give their labour and take what they require. This is the Socialist alternative to the wages system and anything short of this is not Socialism.

Nor does the fact that the State instead of a private individual is the employer alter the Capitalist nature of society. On the contrary, far from abolishing Capitalism this would strengthen it since all the power of the employing class would

be concentrated in the State. It is a fact that Russia, the country with probably the highest percentage of State ownership, is the only country of which it can be said that the power of the working class to resist has been almost completely crushed. Even in Britain it is those in the state industries who suffer most from any Government's wages policy: it takes little imagination to see how much more easily, for example, a government could impose a pay pause if it were the only employer. State control is in fact a form of Capitalist ownership; the State acts as the representative of the employing class as a whole and shares out amongst this class what the workers produce over and above their wages—interest on government bonds, bloated salaries for higher

administrators, expense accounts, bonuses, tax concessions and other such privileges.

We can now see that nationalisation under workers' control is a meaningless concept; for as long as the workers own nothing—and they must continue to do so as long as the wages system exists—they can have no control. Power will remain in the hands of the propertied minority, those who benefit from the state industries in the ways we have mentioned.

We say then that the Trotskyists do not stand for the overthrow of Capitalism since they envisage the continued existence of the wages system. They are not, and have never been, Socialists.

A. L. B.



THE BLESSINGS OF CAPITALISM

"IF IT WERE NOT for the British colonising their country, these natives would still be living in uncivilised conditions—always fighting and killing one another. We have given them decent houses to live in instead of old ramshackle huts; proper clothes to wear; factories and mines to work in—in fact, all the benefits of civilisation. They ought to be grateful to us."

The Socialist is only too familiar with remarks like these from opponents, particularly when he tries to point out that the sole purpose of colonisation is to exploit the resources of the country as well as its people.

In the course of its development, capitalism has spread into the most remote corners of the earth. It has penetrated countries like New Guinea, parts of South East Asia, islands in the Indonesian Archipelago, and the far north of America. Many places that at one time were considered full of mystery are now landing spots for jet air liners. There is hardly any section of the human race that has not directly or indirectly felt capitalism's encroachment. Many backward races are now realising that we are all part and parcel of the same universe.

New Guinea with its several million tribesmen, perhaps the last sanctuary of primitive man many of whom were unknown 20 years ago, is now providing workers for road building. With this

development there is gradually entering into the lives of these people all the so-called blessings of civilisation.

The inhabitants of lands which have become fields for exploitation through the growth of capitalism have become or are becoming slaves to a wages system. Like their fellow humans in other countries, their status in society is that of a working class—a large section of the community who have no security of livelihood and who do not possess anything but their bodily powers, which they are compelled to sell to an employer in return for a wage or salary. This is about enough to enable them to obtain sufficient food and clothes and the rest to exist upon and to reproduce their kind. Such is the lot of all members of the working class, no matter of what race or sex.

A strong indictment of the effect of capitalist encroachment comes from the pen of one of the world's greatest anthropologists Claude Lévi Strauss. Writing in the *Unesco Courier*, a publication of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation, he states that:

With civilisation have come strange diseases against which primitives have no natural immunization and which have brought deadly havoc in their ranks. They are succumbing rapidly to tuberculosis, malaria, trachoma, leprosy,

dysentery, gonorrhea, syphilis and the mysterious disease known as Kuru, the results of primitive man's contact with civilisation, though not actually introduced by it.

Kuru is a genetic deterioration which inevitably ends in death and for which no treatment or remedy is known.

In Brazil 100 tribes became extinct between 1900 and 1950. The Kaingang, from the state of São Paulo, numbering 1,200 in 1912 today have dwindled to 80. The Munduraku were 20,000 in 1925, in 1950 they numbered 1,200. Of the 10,000 Nambikwara in 1905 I could trace only 1,000 in 1940. The Kayapo of the River Araguaya were 2,500 in 1902 and 40 in 1950. The Timbira 1,000 in 1900 and 40 in 1950.

Claude Lévi Strauss has written considerably of the effects of capitalism on natives, but unlike the Socialist he does not put forward a practical solution to their problems. Sometimes we are told that capitalism's intrusion into the lives of native people has resulted in an improved code of morals and conduct among them just like the civilised world, yet it is rather singular that among these backward races there are tribes like the gentle Arapesh, who live among the mountains of New Guinea in tiny villages, who combine to help and share their possessions with one another. When

continued bottom page 44

Branch News



In these wintry days the thought of Spring seems a long way off. However, in preparation for the **May Issue** of the **SOCIALIST STANDARD** work has already commenced. The issue will in the main deal with the Housing Problem. Writers from Scotland, Ireland, Wales, the Midlands and London have been invited to send reports dealing with their areas—other articles will deal with political and economic aspects. Branches are urged to gear their meetings and literature sales drives for this issue—it probably will be enlarged—20 pages—and colour introduced—price at usual. Therefore, it behoves us all to sell at least twice the normal number of **STANDARDS** in May. May Day Rallies and, we hope, betterweather will enable an all-out effort

BLESSINGS OF CAPITALISM (from page 43)

there is plenty, all share. When times are hard, all suffer together. Strangers visiting them are well received.

There is much that is commendable in the manner in which these primitive tribes conduct their affairs, but the Socialist does not advocate a change to this form of primitive communism. Their economic structure has not developed to that stage where they are in a position to obtain enough of the necessities of life to ensure absolute freedom from want. A famine or crop failure to them spells disaster, as they have yet to acquire the knowledge of how to cope with the resources of nature so as to be assured of an abundance at all times. This problem does not arise in modern society. The working class under capitalism do not go in want because there is a *shortage* of necessities, but because they have no free access to the wealth which they have produced.

This insane order of society should end, which would mean a change in property relations. The forces of wealth production, which have outstripped the methods of exchange, must be transferred into common ownership and control and all wealth must be produced for the common benefit of all mankind. Only when this is accomplished will there be a world of free people living together in harmonious relationship.

DICK JACOBS.

to be made. A challenge, but one that we will all take up and see a greatly increased circulation.

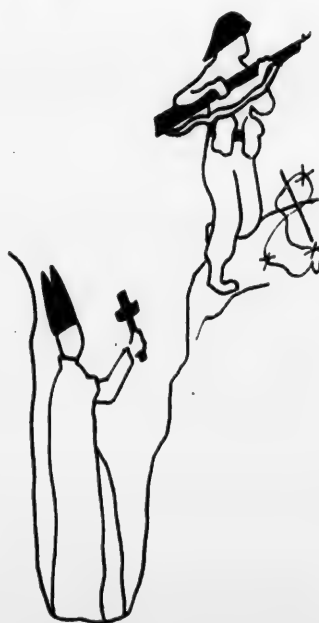
Islington Branch is holding a meeting at the Islington Town Hall on Monday, March 11th, see details on Meeting page.

Paddington, Ealing and Bloomsbury Branches have arranged a three-branch series of propaganda meetings. The first of these was held in January at the Paddington & Marylebone Branch room. Comrade Hardy spoke on the Common Market. The event was most successful—comrades from the three branches supported the meeting and many visitors were there. Good questions and discussion ensued and it is hoped that the next event—a Brains Trust at Ealing Branch at the Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway, will take place on Friday March 1st at 8 p.m. Bloomsbury Branch hope to arrange a meeting the following month. This first meeting was such a success that other groups of branches could well follow this example.

Annual Conference is being held at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square on Friday, Saturday and Sunday April 12th, 13th and 14th. Provincial Branches are asked to contact the Central Organiser at Head Office regarding accommodation required for their delegates. Early notification helps to ensure that accommodation is available.

P.H.

A tot of Religion



A man who believes that when he is dead and gone, that is the end of him, is possibly going to try and save his own life to the neglect of his duty. Lots of people have been helped by a belief that if they were killed by a bullet that was not the end of it.

(Daily Telegraph, 9.12.62).

Thus says Colonel Peter Vaux, a British Army Staff Officer, advocating the indoctrination of the troops for several hours weekly in the Christian myth—the belief in a life after death. Religious instruction will be an “extra” in the life of the rank and file, a further up-to-the-minute technique in the annihilation of the enemy, wherever he may be found. Once they gave them rum before sending them over the top—now its going to be religion.

He says that the troops should be coaxed into taking an interest in religion—into the belief that though they may be killed, they will not really be dead. If they can be convinced of this, it will provide them with what many have missed in the past, that “inner strength,” which in the wars to come, will be an essential, according to St. Peter Vaux. It will enable survivors to overcome the horrors they encounter and “coolly fight on without orders and with very little information.” Lucky soldiers.

Religion always was the handmaiden of private property, and Colonel Vaux's remarks should serve to remind us of this. Here is a man under no delusions about the prospects for a third blood-bath, and the part which religion can be made to play in getting workers to slaughter each other in their masters' interests. Enough said.

O. C. I.

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William Hill discovers a social evil

THE EVER swelling ranks of society's reformers have acquired a new “recruit.” Guess who? None other than Mr. William Hill of bookmaking fame. Speaking a little while ago in Birmingham, he complained:

I was one of those who was all for legalization (of betting shops) . . . on moral grounds I think it had to happen. Many of you here tonight think that shops are a great success, but I fear that they may eventually become a social evil.

The existence of betting shops has actually enticed betting, with the result that we now have some newspapers warning us that the shops represent a grave danger of a general trade recession.

Surely it is the duty of the Government to protect the community, for, as I see it, the continued growth of shops can only lead to an increase in betting.

It seems strange that one of Britain's leading bookmakers should complain about an increase in betting; which really means more business for the layers. When the Wm. Hill organisation insert their large advertisements in the Sporting Press—“Cash or Credit, Hill's prices lead,” and so on—surely they are angling for just this?

In order to understand this speech of

Mr. Hill's, let us take a glance at the returns for the year of Holders Investment Trust, which owns the Wm. Hill bookmaking business. According to the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* of 16th November the profits of this concern fell by over a million pounds in the year to July 31st. Now that's enough to make any tycoon tear his hair. Nobody need be surprised that if competition from the small fry betting shops has had a hand in this Capitalistic tragedy, then they become a “social evil” in the eyes of the big bookmakers.

However, quite without regard to Mr. Hill's appeal to the Government and his description of “the many gangsters and thugs now holding bookmaker's permits”—the inexorable laws of competition will eventually have their effect, in the usual anarchic way. There will be those who will survive in the betting business and those who “go to the wall.”

Despite Mr. Hill's alarm at the number of betting shops sprouting up all over the country and the “cool million” loss in his company—this is the Capitalistic way of life that he and his fellow Capitalists seek to perpetuate. It is from Capitalism itself that the majority of mankind are suffering.

G. R. RUSSELL.

PASSING SHOW (continued from page 48)

Right to strike

A wage-worker has a number of advantages over a slave (although the slave at least doesn't fear unemployment), but by far the most important one is that he has some degree of freedom. And of this degree of freedom, the most important element is his ability to refuse to work. The alternative is near-starvation, but still it means that he has some final retort against the capitalist who seeks to push him still further down into poverty. Judiciously used, the right to refuse to work, the right to strike, can serve in certain economic circumstances to defend or to improve wages and conditions. But this right to strike, this most important single factor which distinguishes the wage-worker from the mere slave, this right is under constant attack from the capitalist state's organs of propaganda. After reading and listening to such attacks, one has the impression that the worker has the right to strike only so long as he never uses it. Whenever workers use their right to strike, it always seems that—although, of course, the right to strike in general is quite a good thing—still this particular strike is for various reasons a very bad one, and should be ended

immediately. It may be “the country's economic position,” it may be “the need to export”; it may be the particular industry the workers are employed in; there is always some reason why this particular strike is totally unjustified.

All these attacks spring from one source: the realization of the ruling class that the strike is one of the few effective weapons the workers have in the class struggle. Our rulers do not wish to revert to slavery—the present wage-labour system is better for them in many ways: which is why slavery has been abolished in all capitalist countries. But it has this unfortunate aspect, that the workers are technically free to strike. Hence the continual propaganda against any groups of workers who exercise their right. For if they could delude the workers into never striking, the capitalists would be in the happy position of enjoying all the advantages of the capital and wage-labour system, without one of its very few (from their point of view) drawbacks. No wonder their newspapers, radio, TV, and pulpits never cease to attack strikes!

ALWYN EDGAR.



March 1913

BRITAIN AND FRANCE

But, it may be asked, why should we, the working class in England, care a straw for the workers of Paris? . . . Is not the Parisian worker our enemy? Is he not our competitor in the industrial world? Has not France for centuries been the great antagonist of England? Was it not Napoleon III who, after his ignominious defeat at Sedan, suggested to the victorious Germans that they should settle their differences and make war against the “common enemy”—England? And was it not against France that Nelson and Wellington gained their most memorable victories?

But the revolutionaries of England recognise that, while we are compelled to compete with the workers of France in the industrial field, as with the workers of Germany and all other countries, we have also to compete with the English workers here, and the French and German workers are no more our enemies than our fellow wage slaves of Britain.

Yet, while we are compelled to compete with each other in the labour market, in spite of this there exists a common interest amongst the working class, an interest that recognises no distinction of race or sex, and that unity of interest is the abolition of the system which compels us to fight for a mere existence. This common interest attaches to the whole working class just as the capitalist class, who combat each other for the world's markets, have a common cause in keeping the working class in subjection.

From an article on the Paris Commune 1871 **SOCIALIST STANDARD**, March 1913.

★ QUESTIONS OF THE DAY (1/3 post paid)

Meetings

GLASGOW LECTURES
Woodside Halls, Clarendon Street.
Sundays. 7.30 pm

March 3rd
COMMON MARKET AND YOU
Speaker: I. McDougall

March 10th
THE PRICE OF NATIONALISM
Speaker: T. Mulheron

March 17th
SOCIALISM AND RELIGION
Speaker: E. Darrach

March 24th
THE RACIAL PROBLEM
Speaker: K. Young

March 31st
SUBJECT TO BE ANNOUNCED

LEWISHAM LECTURES
Co-op Hall, Room 1, Davenport Road,
Rushey Green, Catford, SE6
Mondays, 8 pm

March 4th
MARXISM TODAY

March 11th
SOCIALISM AND RACE

March 18th
CASE FOR SOCIALISM

March 25th
THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

PADDINGTON LECTURES
The Royal Oak, York Street,
Marylebone Road, W1
Wednesdays, 8.30 pm

March 6th
THE HISTORY OF THE SPGB
(Part 2)
Speaker: Gilmac

March 13th
SOCIALISM: ITS POSSIBILITIES
Speaker: T. Fahy

March 20th
METHODS OF THINKING
Speaker: E. Hardy (on "tape")

March 27th
FILM SHOW



OLD TIME

A GULF of time separates the original working class entertainer who amused his fellows with rough song and dance, from the plushy, awed restraint of the present-day Command Performance. The Music Hall of yesteryear is gone, never to return. Its roots were in the unsettled, lucre-mad savagery of the industrial revolution in the early nineteenth century. All that then remained of the abundant regional folk song and music of the English countryside went into the melting pots of the industrial towns to emerge in a uniform pattern of urban culture.

The rural culture, smothered in the slums of the towns, managed to find an outlet for fragmented skills and techniques in the drink-sodden atmosphere of the "pub." In those days, the public house was new and quite distinct from the ancient inn. It had cut glass, fine woodwork and gas lighting, and offered more comfort and social contact than the home. It was to the early Victorian worker what the coffee bar is now to the Earls Court bed-sitter.

As industrialisation increased, the skilled worker obtained some change in living standards. Some of his wages remained after his basic needs had been met and the brewing trade had a fairly free field in mopping up this surplus. In time, the larger public houses had halls where beer, food and tobacco were helped down by the mixed talents of the

entertainers, with the very necessary chairman in control.

It should be remembered that prior to the Theatre Emanicipation Act of 1843, straight dramas were allowed only in Crown-chartered theatres of which there were but two in London. This law was evaded by wedging musical comic and acrobatic turns between drama and sketches—"Variety," in other words. By the time the theatre was freed of restriction, the prolonged effects of State control had already funnelled variety into some form of theatre or hall, and here its ultimate flowering took place. The halls, along with the theatres, were the principal suppliers of performers in growing numbers. In the very poor areas a much lower standard existed in the form of the gin shops, where the "penny gaff" provided crude doggerel, larded with a hefty helping of bad language.

In the early days, the main halls charged admission, which was repaid in food and drink (wet money). This was an encouragement to spend more as the evening wore on. The entertainers were often employed on the premises in some other capacity and received a supplement for their extra efforts. Hence the development of such people as singing waiters. Many publicans were themselves capable performers, such as Collins of Collins Music Hall fame.

But it was Charles Morton who took a big step in the establishment of the music hall. In the 1850's he enlarged his hall at The Canterbury by demolishing an American skittle alley and created what was for those days a super-modern theatre. Women were eventually allowed in—a good box office draw—and "wet money" was abolished in favour of set admission prices. This meant that artists could now be paid salaries and become specialised—an important change.

Morton himself was very conscious of the need to improve working class taste. Capitalism, after all, needed something more than just a mass of degenerate proletarians. So The Canterbury even

MUSIC HALL

sported a picture gallery and selections of opera and ballet were included in the programme; in fact, the first performance in Britain of Gounod's *Faust* was performed at The Canterbury. Nor should we forget that in the 1860's such halls as Turnham's White Lion and the famous "Met" in Edgware Road, London, had their full-time ballets. Workers who frequented these places did not regard such art form as being above them or effeminate, and although one must allow that standards then were much lower than those of modern choreography, working class acceptance of ballet in its introductory form doubtless played a fair part in its subsequent development.

In the next few years, the halls separated from their public house origin and only the names continued to bear trace of the site of their birth. Laws were passed in 1870 ordering the closing of places of entertainment by midnight and prohibiting the sale of food and drink in the auditorium. This put paid to the Chairman, and correct theatre procedure took his place. But by then capital was flowing into this expanding business and a whole army of song writers, costumiers and small timers were earning their living at it. The audiences still sung, cried and thrilled with the performer, and the personal contact was still a factor, even though it was getting more remote.

By the 1930's, the music halls were in decline. A devastating world war and generally changing conditions saw to that, and it was not to be long before memories were all that remained.

It is interesting now to look back over the years of their heyday and compare them with the present. The most outstanding change is in the type of popular songs. Almost exclusively modern lyrics lean on a theme of sexual love and centre on the young, whereas the old music halls produced songs about almost every human emotion and experience. Love, bravery, misfortune, poverty, snobbishness, death and patriotism—they were all there. Workers were still closely knit, even in the large towns, and the

isolation behind the lace curtains of suburbia had yet to come. Personal misfortune was eased by the direct mutual aid of one's neighbours. Today, the state has moved into this field.

As industry develops, every aspect of our lives becomes affected by it, and no field of human activity is left unscrutinised in the search for profit. So the trend in modern songs is not surprising. Who is much bothered if the fervour of young love is aroused by pop singers who, even by general standards, are poor, so long as the money keeps rolling in? Anyway, the ruling class are probably thankful that their young workers spend so much of their spare time shuffling and mooning about broken hearts and frustrated passions. Their minds will not then so readily turn to more awkward aspects of the system.

But modern capitalism has produced something else—the quite untenable assumption on the part of many teenagers that we have moved into an era of slickness and high-toned quality in song production. A comparison of the pop songs of today with those of the old music halls will show the falsity of this. There is a difference between the two, yes, but a subtle one; both are reflections of poverty not only in wealth itself but in the understanding of the capitalist world.

Private property society has divorced its workers from the means of wealth production and has reduced many of our tasks to simple manipulation. It has also brought about a uniformity of taste, ideas and general behaviour which social reformers may wail about but which none of them can alter. We hope we have said enough by now to show that only a classless, property-less society will make any radical change in this state of affairs. It will be then that we can express ourselves fully and encourage variety in the truest sense of the word. But it is only the working class who can ring up the curtain on this new world.

JACK LAW.

SUNDAY MEETINGS, 7.30 pm Head Office, 52 Clapham High St., SW4.

speakers:

March 3rd	HOUSING	H. Baldwin
March 10th	SOCIALISM & PLANNING	E. Hardy
March 17th	UNEMPLOYMENT	R. Ambridge
March 24th	RACIAL STRIFE	T. Lord
March 31st	THREAT OF WAR	A. Fahy

Meetings

BROMLEY DEBATE

Bromley Public Library (Lecture Room), High Street
Friday, March 29th, 7.45 pm

"Which Party should the Working Class Support—the LIBERAL PARTY or the SPGB"

For the Liberals: Mr. J. Mumby
(prospective Parliamentary Candidate for Bromley)
For the SPGB: C. May

WEMBLEY DISCUSSION

Barham Court, Barham Park
Monday, March 11th, 8 pm

AGRICULTURE AND SOCIALISM

BETHNAL GREEN LECTURE

Town Hall, Cambridge Heath Road, E2

Wednesday, March 13th, 8 pm
REFORM AND REVOLUTION
Speaker: R. G. Stare

ISLINGTON TOWN HALL

Upper Street, N1 (nearest Tube, Angel)

Public Meeting

Monday, March 11th, 7.30 pm

THE SOCIALIST ANSWER TO UNEMPLOYMENT

EALING MEETINGS

Windsor Hall, Windsor Road, W5
(100 yards from Ealing Broadway)
8 pm prompt

Friday, March 8th
FILM: "WORLD WITHOUT END"

Friday, March 15th
DISCUSSION ON THE FILM
Opener: H. Weaver

Public Meeting

AFTER ALDERMASTON, WHAT?

HAMPSTEAD TOWN HALL

Thursday 18th April 7.30 pm

THE PASSING SHOW



Implication

THE RECENT work-to-rule campaign of the electrical power-station workers led to the usual press campaign. In the newspapers, a number of journalists and letter-writers said that the power workers should not be allowed to take any industrial action, such as striking or working to rule. Almost every prominent strike leads to similar suggestions. Even misguided members of the working class propose that workers (in other industries, of course, not in their own) should be forced to work. The obvious question which then arises—should the workers be forced to work on their own terms or on the employers' terms?—is seldom answered in so many words, but the implication is usually plain: the workers should be forced to work on whatever terms the employers see fit to offer.

In a time of inflation, when workers have to take or threaten to take industrial action in order to try and keep their earnings abreast of rising prices, this proposal can usually be put in very reasonable-sounding terms: that existing wages and conditions should be maintained. In a time of deflation, such as occasions in the twenties and thirties, when prices are falling, it is the employers who often have to resort to industrial action to force wages down. And at those times the letter-writing brigade seldom suggests that lock-outs should be forbidden by law, and that employers should be compelled to continue employing their workers on the existing terms.

Moral right

But in the power strike, a number of newspapers went further: they made the astounding discovery that the public has a "moral right" to food, lighting and heating. And such is the lack of understanding of the way the capitalist system operates that this announcement went apparently unchallenged. Yet five minutes' thought would show anyone the falsity of this belief. What would happen if you went into the baker's and told him you had a "moral right" to food,

and that you had decided that sixpence was a reasonable price to pay for his ninepenny loaves? Unless you left the shop in a hurry, you would find yourself at the local police station being charged with a breach of the peace. Under our present system, to all intents and purposes, *everything* is bought and sold. No one has a "moral right" to be supplied with the necessities of life. If the seller of bread and the buyer of bread can agree on a price which the buyer can pay, then the bread changes hands; otherwise it doesn't. Everyone understands this in practice; no one would go shopping believing anything else. And yet people can so far delude themselves as to write to the papers claiming they have a "moral right" to be supplied with food.

All the aces

Just as food, clothing, and so on, are bought and sold, so is human labour-power. Under our present system, men and women work for the capitalists because they are paid to do so. If the employer and employee can arrive at a bargain as to the price to be paid for a certain amount of work—a wage or salary—then the work is done. Otherwise it isn't. Admittedly in this process of bargaining all the aces are in the hands of the capitalist. For if the worker refuses to work for what the employer pays him, then he faces unemployment, and severe deprivation for himself and his family. The employer, on the other hand, can at least live on his money if no bargain is arrived at; that is what makes him a capitalist.

Both ways

Nevertheless, however strong one party to the bargain is, and however weak the other, a bargain—an agreement as to wages and conditions—there must be. And the very people who are now talking about "moral rights" are exactly the people who insist that this must be so. When one argues for Socialism, and suggests that men could operate a very much better system for supplying themselves

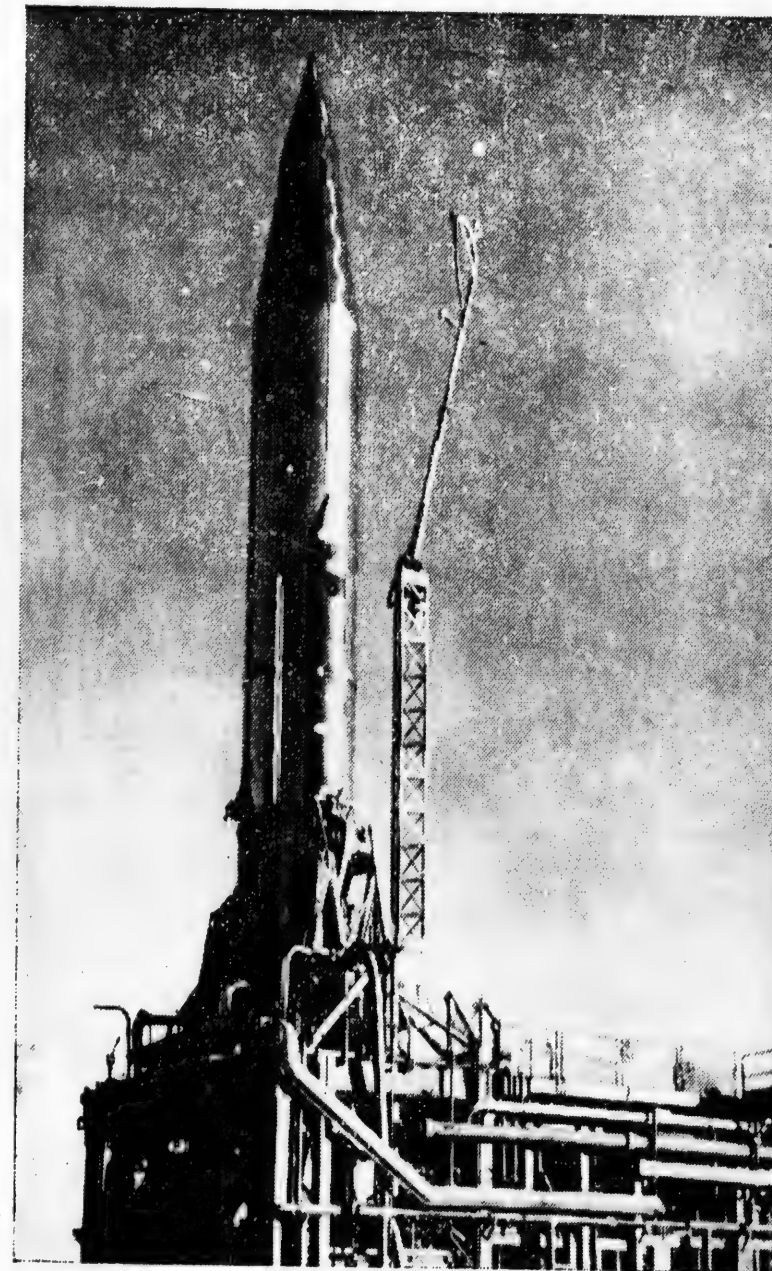
with food, clothing and shelter if they did away with money altogether and worked on the principle of common ownership of the means of production, what an outcry follows! These "moral rights" people are exactly those who are first to deride the Socialist solution, and to insist that our present commercial system, where money is the god without which nothing can be done, is the best possible system. But as soon as they are put to inconvenience by the very workings of the system which they themselves uphold and vote for at each election—what a squawk they put up! They are like children who gobble down their share of cake and then cry because it's gone. They want it both ways.

Massive attacks

It seems paradoxical, but the only members of the public who could justifiably complain when their lights and fires went off as a result of the power-workers' campaign were the Socialists. Only those who have done their best to put an end to our present capitalist system, only those who have tried to bring in the Socialist alternative—only they could justifiably grumble at these further inconveniences and discomforts which the operation of the capitalist system makes inevitable. Of course, in practice, it is precisely the Socialists who have always supported the working class when they have taken action to maintain or improve their living conditions. The support of Labourites and Communists is never to be relied on: it depends on a dozen factors, such as whether there is a Labour or a Communist government, whether our capitalist class is making war on any other capitalist class, what the Russian ruling class is doing, and so on. Even when there is a Conservative government in power, many of our "progressive" politicians publicly join the massive attacks which are always mounted against workers who try to keep or even increase their small part of what they produce. Only the Socialist Party—as could be expected, since it is the party of the workers—can be relied on to keep the issue straight.

continued bottom page 45

SOCIALIST STANDARD



THE ALTERNATIVE FOR MANKIND

The choice is in your hands. Either the present type of world continues with its threats of war, unemployment and poverty, or you get down to the job of building the only desirable alternative that will be in harmony with social development. Socialism is completely opposed to war and to all that war represents. The real choice before mankind is Socialism or Capitalism. Where do you stand?

In this issue

A MESSAGE FOR ALDERMASTON MARCHERS

WHY HAS CND FAILED?

THE CURES FOR STRIKES

THIS MONEY BUSINESS



Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1) That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2) That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3) That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4) That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5) That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6) That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7) That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8) The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Branches

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm. "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY 1st and 3rd Thursdays (4th & 18th April) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: SPGB 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm. 5th April at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 19th April at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

GLASGOW Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

HACKNEY Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

Groups

BRIGHTON Meetings Fridays, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

BROMLEY For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

COVENTRY 1st and 3rd Mondays (1st and 15th April) 7.30 pm, 60 Alma Street, Off Lower Ford St. Enquiries: Secretary, at above address.

EARLS COURT & DISTRICT Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

MID HERTS Enquiries: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Clo e, Hatfield (Phone Hatfield 4802). Regular monthly discussions at above address.

LEWISHAM Mondays 8.15 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushay Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, 2 Davenport Road, SE6.

NOTTINGHAM 2nd Wednesday in month (17th April) 8 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street Correspondence: G. Hallam, 14 Church Drive Carrington, Nottingham.

PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX 2nd and 4th Monday in month (8th and 22nd April) 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

SWANSEA 1st and 3rd Monday (1st and 15th April) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W.5

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (11th and 25th April) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane, Romford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 8.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, near "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (12th and 26th April) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: M. Hopwood, 4 St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale, Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran near Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

A NEW PAMPHLET

THE CASE FOR SOCIALISM

An Introduction to Socialist Principles

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April 1963

Vol 59 No 704

SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF
GREAT BRITAIN



THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings etc. for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street London, S.W.4.

WHY HAS CND FAILED	52
NEWS IN REVIEW	54
Labour and Nationalisation	
Budget for "Defence"	
Prices	
Russia and the Oil Business	
THE COAL STRIKE	55
ARRIVAL POSTPONED-INDEFINITELY	56
CURES FOR STRIKES	58
HAILSHAM, THOMAS & CANUTE	59
FINANCE AND INDUSTRY	60
THE PASSING SHOW	61
LETTERS: THIS MONEY BUSINESS	61
BRANCH NEWS	63
THE INHUMANITY OF WAR	64



A message for Aldermaston Marchers

This might be your last Aldermaston. The March has lost its impact and become an "Easter habit." These marches were originally organised in the belief that with mass support you would be able to force the British Government to renounce nuclear weapons. You have had the support. You have engaged in all types of activity on a vast scale. You have captured the energy and enthusiasm of tens of thousands; you have distributed leaflets and pamphlets by the million. And yet you have failed.

The past six years has seen the development and stockpiling of all types of nuclear weapons in this and other countries. Polaris submarines (and no doubt their Russian counterparts) keep their patrols day in and day out. Bombers with their loads are on round-the-clock alert. The neutron bomb—"the ultimate weapon"—is on the point of production. In fact, nuclear-wise the world is "hotter" today than ever before. Russia, alike with the other capitalist powers in her concern for expansion and supremacy, proudly tells of her multi-megaton explosions. The British Government defence estimates of £1,838 million will be passed by Parliament without any real opposition. The United States armaments bill this year will be about £19,000 million.

Your protests, both constitutional and direct action, have had no effect on the Government. The Labour Party, like the Conservatives, are committed to nuclear weapons. Your own leaders have spoken evasively and you have found yourselves wavering.

In the knowledge that you have not "banned the bomb," many of you have widened your interests, and nuclear disarmers are brought more and more into other forms of protest. You have protested about housing, about poverty and hunger, in the hope that you may be more successful in these fields than with the Bomb. But you will not succeed, and your continued disappointments are leading to apathy and disillusionment. Before this happens to you, why not face certain facts about which there can be no dispute.

We live in a world of private property relationships—where the minority have and the millions have not. A world ruled by buying and selling with profit as the driving force. Competition and tension dominate our lives. Men compete for jobs and capitalists compete for trade. Exports are a "must" for every country, and the big fish eat the small ones. Today America and Russia face each other, armed to the teeth, both proclaiming their desire for peace and the need to preserve their "way of life." But "peace" and "preservation" lead to the brink of war as in the recent Cuban crisis.

War solves nothing. You say that you are not in favour of war, yet you support the very system that gives rise to it. Your main concern is that war should be "humanised." For you it is war with nuclear weapons that is immoral and suicidal. We can understand your desire to abolish these weapons, but the position you take is inconsistent and unrealistic. Socialists are opposed to war in all its forms. But first and foremost we are opposed to the capitalist system which gives rise to war among other social problems. You are concerned with removing evils in isolation. This cannot be done. Policies of social reform over

PUBLIC MEETING
THURSDAY 18 APRIL
7.30pm



AFTER ALDERM ASTON- WHAT?

Speakers: L. Cox C. May

HAMPSTEAD TOWN
Haverstock Hill NW3 HALL
 opposite Belsize Park Tube

decades have not fundamentally altered the class basis of society; poverty, unemployment and insecurity are still with us.

Many of you, supporters of the Labour Party, will be in a difficult position at the next General Election. Your loyalty will be tested to the point that you will vote Labour in order to keep the Tories out. You hope that a Labour Government will be more likely to renounce nuclear weapons, a hope that has no justification, for the Labour Party is committed to protecting British capitalism. And to do this, they will ask you to fight with all the monstrous weapons of modern technology.

Have you ever thought that Socialism might be the answer? Not nationalisation, or some vague talk of public ownership, but a world based upon common ownership of the means of wealth production. A world where men will co-operate to serve the interests of all. Not production for buying and selling and killing, but to serve people's needs—for use, not for profit. Socialism will be world-wide and means the abolition of classes. The Socialist Party of Great Britain and its companion Parties in other countries work to this end. It is the only solution to war and the other major social problems.

A pipe dream you may say. But only so long as you and millions like you are prepared to waste your time dealing with the effects of capitalism instead of removing the causes. The Socialist Party offers you no easy way out. Socialism will not come about by marches, sit-downs, or days of prayer. Socialism requires the understanding of men and women. It is not a blind faith, but a conviction based on knowledge.

The choice is in your hands. Either the present type of world continues with its threats of war, unemployment and poverty, or you get down to the job of building the only desirable alternative that will be in harmony with social development. The real choice before mankind is Socialism or Capitalism. Where do you stand?

Why has CND failed?

THE WAY FROM Aldermaston is now a well trodden road. For some unilateralists, perhaps too well trodden; it is no secret that this year's march may be the last.

CND have always made the most of the art of clever publicity; possibly this is what they will be remembered for before anything else. They have sat in the roadway, planted seeds on the other side of airfield wire, auctioned the Air Force's nuclear bombers. This, said CND, was the way to attract support for the case for banning the bomb. Have they failed, or succeeded?

CND has failed. This country is now no nearer to abandoning its nuclear weapons than it was when CND came into existence. The present government, as well as any which is likely to take power in the foreseeable future, is firm on this. That affable, informative fellow the Average Man, when asked if he is in favour of getting rid of nuclear weapons, will reply that of course he is in favour—provided Russia and America and the rest of the world

give up theirs as well. That is the answer he would have given before the first Aldermaston march. With him, in other words, we are back at Square One.

Whether they admit to it or not, CND implicitly recognise their failure. They have still not tested the effect of their smart publicity at the polls. The few unilateralists who are in, or near to, Parliament are careful to stand first under the banner of one of the big capitalist parties, who are all committed to keep the bomb when they are in power. A pure CND candidate would win very few votes. In fact, the marches and demonstrations have not affected the enduring support which the mass of the British working class give to their masters' interests. This is what CND have been up against and they have made no headway. But the weapons which they set out to abolish have made headway. They have got bigger and stronger and more terrifying and they can reach ever further across the world.

The Campaign is not the first reformist organisation to come roaring onto the

scene, full of enthusiasm and good intentions, only to fail. There have been plenty of others before and they have always failed for the same basic reason. The Aldermaston marchers have been travelling in exactly the wrong direction, have been coming in at the wrong end. Their propaganda has taken no account of the reasons for the existence of nuclear weapons. This has not necessarily been through ignorance of those reasons; perhaps some members of CND know them well enough. But such organisations cannot, by their very nature, concentrate upon the cause of the evils they try to deal with.

Reformists always treat their problems in isolation from the rest of capitalism. Pacifists think of war as a problem on its own; charitable organisations consider poverty to be something like a personal accident. CND regards the Bomb as an evil which can be separated from its surroundings.

But nuclear weapons have not come upon us haphazardly. They are, in fact, another stage in the development of weapons which has followed closely the economic and social growth of society. Ever since primitive man first fumbled with his crude missiles, weapons have been important to men. At first they were productive—they could bring man his food. But the development of class society brought men into conflict over wider issues than the possession of a carcass, and weapons were used in these conflicts. They were also used to suppress the under-classes in society. This was the situation which capitalism found waiting for it and which, like previous systems, it adapted to its interests.

Capitalism separated its workers from weapons in the same way as it separated them from the means of production. Its wealth is made in concentrated factories, from material which has been brought from all over the world. The people who make this wealth do not own the factories, the material nor the finished product; they only work, in fact, when it suits the capitalist to allow them to do so. Similarly, the people who use capitalism's weapons do not own them and are only brought into contact with them, in the Armed Forces, when capitalism's interests demand that they should be. This social development has taken place at the same time as capitalism has expanded its weapons in the technical sense. Today, the dominant armaments are of such a nature that it is quite impossible for the people who operate them to own them.

The development of capitalism's weapons has been a natural result of the expansion of its productive powers. It is a drab, familiar story. One of capitalism's first modern wars—the American

Civil War—gave birth to the Gatling gun, a forerunner of the machine guns which, with their pitiless killing, were a dominant weapon in the First World War. That war also saw the beginning of the answer to the machine gun—the tanks lumbering painfully across No Man's Land. It also saw, more ominously, the first organised air-raids against a civilian population. We may wonder, now, at the terror which Breithaupt and Mathy and the other Zeppelin commanders struck into London, with their tiny, scattered bombs, for these weapons were the predecessors of those, smaller than a Zeppelin, which can now wipe out London in a few seconds.

Nuclear bombs were the child of the Second World War. It is grimly appropriate that the destruction of Hiroshima should have been watched by one of the successors of the Zeppelin commanders—Leonard Cheshire, who was awarded the V.C. for his part in the terror bombing of German cities. Since 1945 baby has grown up a lot and is now frightening the life out of us with his destructive potential. Baby has many names—Skybolt, Polaris and whatever the Russians call their mass killers.

Protests

Capitalism's contribution to the development of man's weapons has been that, more than any other social system, it has organised human skill and knowledge to make it possible for man to destroy himself. We might expect that there will be protests about this. CND protests; so do many other organisations. Some of them tell us how much better the world would be without war. *The Guardian* of March 11th last gave an account of a report by a study group of an organisation called the United World Trust:

It concludes by emphasising "the enormous benefit" that disarmament would bring to every section of the community. "It will provide a unique opportunity for the Government to promote a faster rate of economic growth and prosperity for all," it claims.

This seems quite unexceptional, until we reflect that the same argument is used about all the other wasteful problems of capitalism. We all know that life would be very much better if they were all abolished. But that is where the reformists always fail; despite all their efforts, the problems remain and life is not so good.

So what are we to do about it? Human

knowledge and technical skill are bound to develop with the passing of time. There is nothing wrong in this; in a sensible world it could be of immense benefit to humanity. Certainly we cannot turn time backwards. Man cannot lose the knowledge he has gained—even the knowledge which is useless and harmful. He cannot forget how to fly, nor how to make explosives, nor can he lose the principles of nuclear power. Such knowledge could be an asset to society. If it is a curse, as it is at present, our job is to find the reason for this; rather than blame the knowledge, we should try to discover why it is put to such anti-social uses.

Modern war springs from the basis of capitalism. A social system which makes its wealth for sale has got to have an interest in its markets and in fields of cheap, accessible raw materials. But it will find that its markets, for one reason or another, are limited and so it will have to fight over them. It will find that it is impossible to agree over the right to the raw materials and so it will have to fight over that as well. Capitalism causes modern war and so it needs the best of modern weapons to fight them with. That is why it so readily adapts its techniques of social production to the making and the using of weapons and harnesses invaluable human knowledge and skill in the dreaming up of ever more horrific armaments.

Capitalism debases human ability and diverts it from what is its most useful and sensible field. Capitalism makes clever scientists into destructive fiends. It searches out the cataclysmic secrets of the very substance of matter. It takes the boy next door and turns him into a paratrooper or a bomber pilot; it transforms gentle men into brutal killers.

CND, and some of the other reformists, see part of this and they do not like what they see. But they blame the government, or perhaps the soldiers, or the scientists. That is all futility and failure. The right place to start solving these problems is at the bottom—at the basis of capitalist society. Until Socialism is established, there will be many more Aldermastons and even bigger and worse bombs will be made there. The unilateralists have failed, but that is not to say that the energy and social conscience which some of them may have cannot be put to good use.

Why don't you come our way?

IVAN.



THE NEWS IN REVIEW

Budget for Defence

One of the big debates which British capitalism is currently having with itself is over what it likes to call Defence.

Independent, or American controlled, missiles? Airborne, or carried in submarines? Conventional, or nuclear, forces? Big or small?

The latest government White Paper on these questions—the *Statement on Defence*, 1963—shows what capitalism in this country wants in the way of armed forces during the next twelve months.

The Royal Navy is to get some Polaris submarines, nuclear powered, to stay submerged for weeks on end and armed with deadly missiles which they can fire from under the water.

The Air Force is to get a new nuclear weapon to give its bombers more hitting power (although some correspondents doubted the existence of a really new weapon).

The guns of the army are to have greater fire power.

Fine. All the Forces, in other words, will be able to knock down more buildings, make bigger holes, and kill more people, in the future than they could in the past. Fine.

Labour and Nationalisation

With the crown barely settled upon his head, Mr. Harold Wilson has found himself under heavy fire from the Conservative propaganda machine.

Tory M.P. Gerald Nabarro inveigled Wilson into confirming, with the House of Commons for an audience, that Clause Four of the Labour Party Constitution—the bit about standing for "... the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange"—is in fact still the policy of the entire Party.

Perhaps it was coincidence that at that very moment the Conservative Central Office had just got ready a new pamphlet, *Entitled to Know*, which suggests on the flimsiest evidence that the Labour Party

Perhaps this is value for money: £1,837,700,000 will be spent on the Armed Forces and their weapons during the next year, which is £116,640,000 up on last year.

We can all think of things which, even under capitalism, could avoid some of their problems if they had a bit more money. Some charitable appeals, for example, often tell us of the surprisingly long time they can feed somebody like a hungry refugee child for a pitifully small sum.

But these are only human beings—definitely not priority for capitalism's expenditure.

Never mind. Aren't you glad they're making so many big, busting weapons to defend you with? Aren't you glad so much of society's wealth and brains and talent is being poured into things which can only harm society?

Don't you think it's time you called a halt to this madness and organised a sane world, which will not have the conflicts which need armed forces to settle them?

Two things are needed for a "defence" budget—weapons and money. The world would be a better place without both of them.

has its nationalising eye upon no fewer than 104 firms in this country. Naturally, Wilson's affirmation of Clause Four was rushed into the front page of the pamphlet.

No sane person can really believe that the Labour Party wants to nationalise firms like Boots and the Prudential. Some of the other companies in the Tory pamphlet—aircraft firms, for example—are already deep in the government's pocket anyway. Nationalisation, as an attempted solution for some of British capitalism's difficulties, was never designed to go as far as the Tories make out.

So Wilson could comfortably dismiss the charge as "childish" and, more

bluntly, *The Economist* could accuse the Conservative Party of "... telling lies in its propaganda. . ." Altogether, the scare fell very flat, not like the 1959 campaign about the famous 600 firms.

But wait a minute. Why do the Labour Party agree on the one hand that they stand for wholesale nationalisation—which is what Clause Four means—and yet deny it when their opponents bring them face to face with it?

Labour once told us that nationalisation was the answer to our problems, that it was the quick road to Socialism; they can hardly drop it entirely now. But the working class have become dubious enough about nationalisation to make it a vote loser. This is what forces the Labour Party into their double act, so that Wilson must actually be trapped into admitting that it might be his policy.

If nationalisation were the road to Socialism the Labour Party should be proud to stand up for it whatever the consequences. But in fact it is only another makeshift of capitalism.

The chances are that the Labour Party will fight off the latest Tory stunt. They may even win the next election and give us a bit more of their brand of state capitalism.

One thing, though, they will not be able to give us. That is Socialism.

Prices

One of the favourite tricks of Labour M.P.s is to get up in the House and ask, innocently, to be told the present purchasing power of the pound compared to what it was in October, 1951, when the Conservatives came back to power.

They get some illuminating replies. The latest of these, from the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, shows that the pound of 1951 is now, in the same terms, worth only 13s. 11d. Presumably these figures were carefully recorded by Labour members and have by now been used in countless speeches up and down the country.

To be sure, it was a big Tory promise in 1951 that they would stop prices rising and so maintain the buying power of the pound. At the time, because the working class had seen so many wage increases wither under the heat of rising prices, the whole thing was something of an election issue. The Tory boast went down well.

But like so many other issues, this one is a great illusion. Workers are too

easily misled into thinking that their fortunes are permanently affected by things like price levels. They rarely take the trouble to remember the history of prices and wages, which teaches exactly the opposite. Whatever they may earn, and whatever the level of prices, workers always have the same old struggle to balance their budget.

Perhaps this is too much like hard thinking. Perhaps the workers find it easier to moan about the latest price rise or—in other times, maybe—the latest wage cut.

Prices are for the moment a dead issue as far as vote catching goes, but they could come to life again.

If they do, the working class will do well to remember that voting for the party which promises to put wages up or bring prices down—or both—can bring them no benefits.

Russia and the Oil Business

Oil is one of the commodities which Russia is anxious to export. This has been an expanding business; according to a United States House of Representatives report, the Soviet Union was overall an importer of oil in 1950, but by 1951 was exporting the stuff at the rate of 40 million tons a year.

This has worried some of the established oil interests in the Western world;

Russia has a surplus of oil and in the recent past has gone out to capture some of their cherished markets.

So the recent "oil for ships" offer which Moscow seemed to be making was bound to ripple the surface of international trade.

The Americans and the other international oil companies were worried because the Russians were likely to upset the market by selling their oil at about twelve per cent. below the current price. On the other side of the deal, Washington does not favour its allies exporting to the Eastern bloc things like ships, which they classify as being of strategic value.

These reactions we might have expected. One capitalist power will always squeal when another pinches one of its markets.

So might we have expected the British shipyards, hungry for orders, to press for the acceptance of the deal. No business willingly passes up the chance of selling its products, especially when it is as depressed as shipbuilding is at the moment. So three yards on the Clyde combined to put in a tender for six fish-meal factory ships for export to Russia.

Unusual allies for the shipyards were the shipbuilding unions. And a strange ally for the Americans was the National Union of Mineworkers, which took up its customary hostile attitude at the very mention of the word oil.

This muddle is typical of those which crop up when deals like this are in the air. Capitalism is a mass of different groups of investment, with intricately opposed interests. We should leave these interests to fight out their deals themselves.

Workers, usually think that they have a stake in the outcome of such situations. But experience says that they do not. Whoever gets the ships and the oil will make not enough difference to working class lives to worry about.



APRIL 1913

THE COAL STRIKE

A million miners are out on strike. From the ferment around us one might think they were asking for the mines. Every foul epithet and column is being hurled at them by the hiring Press. It is they who are unpatriotic; it is they who are ruining the trade of the country; it is they who are bringing the people to starvation. No one suggests that the mine-owners, who cling so tightly to the last atom of profit which they can screw out of those who go down into the pits, are culpable.

Of course not. Is it not only fair and just that capital should have its reward? And who can say that the mine-owners are any too well recompensed for his risk and his labour? Not the capitalist papers, certainly.

These drew many fancy pictures of the fabulous wages and astonishing luxury of the miners, and marvelled that there was anything left for the owners at all. Yet within a week of the men ceasing work the Press rang with the cries of the miners' starving wives and children, and Mr. Chiozza Money, M.P. showed from the Income Tax returns that in the last nine years the owners had made over 200 million pounds out of the unpaid labour of the workers!

It is said that the granting of the minimum wage would only cost £50,000 a year, which is less than 1 per cent of the profit the masters take, and a very minute fraction of their capital. It is a pregnant demonstration of what the meaning of the word "Patriotism" is on the masters' lips when they plunge the country into such misery for the sake of so insignificant a morsel of dividend.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD,
April 1913

WITHOUT COMMENT

"200 Lose Jobs—More than 200 workers at the High Wycombe factory of Desborough Engineering will lose their jobs because work they were doing is going to Northern depressed areas."

(Daily Telegraph February 7, 1963)

ANNUAL CONFERENCE EASTER 1963

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, WC1

Friday April 12th 11am - 1pm, 2 - 6pm

Saturday April 13th 2.30pm - 6pm

Sunday April 14th 11am - 1pm, 2 - 6pm

SOCIAL & DANCE

Saturday April 13th 7.30 - 11pm (Tickets 3/6)

Conference Rally, Sunday April 14th 7.30pm

CAPITALISM - THE SICK SOCIETY

ARRIVAL POSTPONED— INDEFINITELY

Promised Land

THE MORMONS who trekked across America to settle in what is now the State of Utah were driven and inspired by the visions of their leader, Brigham Young. Whatever setbacks they encountered, whatever hardships they endured, Young could always turn up the answer in a session with the Almighty. These were always enough to still the Mormons' doubts so that the weary journey to the Promised Land could continue.

In some ways, this is what happens in capitalism. For as long as any of us can remember the leaders of the system have said that they are conducting us on a glorious pilgrimage to a Promised Land. Sometimes they tell us that we have almost come to the end of the road and that the lush, temperate valleys are only just over the next hill. Sometimes they tell us that we have run into trouble—hostile natives are about, or the undergrowth is too thick for penetration, or the weather is unco-operative. At such times they are not above trying to dream up a few visions themselves and although these are not usually like those of Brigham Young, it is true that capitalism's leaders like us to think that God looks upon them with a kindly eye. Whatever the difficulties of our journey, though, they assure us that we must not despair. The Promised Land is never far away. Everybody is so busy listening to these soothing assurances that they do not seem to notice that we sometimes travel in the opposite direction to what was supposed to be, only a short time before, the quickest way to the Promised Land. They never notice that all the leaders' visions turn out to be false. And most of all they never notice that, no matter how hard and how fast we travel, we never arrive.

All the capitalist political parties are in on this. The Tories try to comfort us with the promise that they alone know the way and have provided for every need of the trek. The Labour Party try to take over the head of the column and to tempt us with visions which they say are better and brighter than their opponents. The Liberals murmur that their way is the smoothest and safest of all. At election time this propaganda is particularly loud. But it goes on all the time, because the more noise the leaders kick up, the more

officially they shuffle their maps and peer into the horizon, the less chance there is of the rest of the travellers asking questions about the direction and length of the journey. Capitalism, in other words, can never be what its leaders promise for it, but it must always pretend to be doing something about its own shortcomings.

Recently, for example, Lord Hailsham had a vision about the Promised Land. This aristocrat, as we all know, is stuck with the task of explaining to hundreds of thousands of workers why their trek has come to a halt until they have settled

the little difficulty of finding a job. Hailsham has had to visit one of the areas of high unemployment in this country; yet he can still radiate as much confidence as anyone about the Promised Land. But he has had to admit that the journey might be running a little behind schedule. Speaking in February last to a rally of Tory women, he said:

The recession has given us the power, possibly for the first time since the war, and the breakdown in the Common Market talks has given us the spur, of beginning the construction of the Britain



The May Socialist Standard will be a special issue on the housing problem. 20 pages, illustrated, 6d



we want to see in thirty years' time—the Britain we must see if in the twenty-first century, to which we must begin to look, we are to see Britain as a national community holding her head appropriately high among the peoples of the earth.

This is a rather strange vision, even from one of the Tories' favourite visionaries. For if it only needed a recession to give us the spur to build a better world—postponed now, of course, for thirty years—why do governments always try to resist slumps? And if a slump is now the way to prosperity, what way was envisaged in the other, earlier, promises? What, for example, inspired Mr. Butler's vision of a few years ago of doubling our standard of living in twenty-five years? And has this vision faded, now, in the glare of Hailsham's revelations of the twenty-first century?

Eyewash

Hailsham was, of course, dishing out the purest eyewash. A recession does not provide the economic power for a new leap forward; it is not a sort of purifying fire. Not only old, inefficient companies go under in a slump; the new, smart outfits also die. Capitalism goes up and down as its markets dictate; there is no depth of a slump at which anyone can say that the economy has got its second wind and that things have got bad enough for them to start getting better. In previous slumps, no end of experts have had their forecasts of impending recovery upset by the depression inexorably getting worse. Does Hailsham realise this? He probably does. But to have said so would have spoiled the vision, so not a word was breathed of it. Ladies and gentlemen, the journey to the Promised Land drags on—at least for the next thirty years.

Not only the Tories have their visions. Mr. Harold Wilson is having one or two himself lately, as he tries to elbow his way to the front of the column. Mr. Wilson complains that the trek is being hindered by the lack of scientists in this country and that if only we could keep them all here it would not be long before we were standing on the brow of the last hill, with the fertile plains spread out at our feet. This is how *The Guardian* reported part of Mr. Wilson's first political broadcast as leader of the Labour Party:

The steady drain of some of Britain's best scientists to jobs overseas, said Mr. Wilson, was something the country could not afford and was going on because Britain did not make enough use of scientists here. "Far too many of our scientists are frustrated. They don't have the equipment they need. They are trying to do research on a shoestring. Private

industry spends getting on for three times as much on advertising as it does on scientific research. Perhaps if the ratio were the other way round we would be forging ahead in the world.

He said that on February 27th last. But he ignored the fact that some of the eminent scientists now working in Britain originally came from abroad. He did not say whether his desire to keep British scientists in Britain also meant, for example, sending Sir Solly Zuckermann back to South Africa or Sir Howard Florey back to Australia, so that those countries could also do their bit of "forging ahead." Inconvenient facts are no part of glorious visions of mythical capitalist prosperity.

They never were. The Promised Land has always been the sop with which working class unrest has been stifled. This is the *Morning Post* of April 5th, 1929, reporting a speech on unemployment by Mr. Baldwin:

If we have not conquered unemployment, we are in process of conquering it, and if there is no great disturbance shall complete its conquest. . . .

And this is the report of the *Daily Mail* of May 15th, 1929, of what Cabinet Minister Sir William Joynson Hicks had to say on the same subject:

There are now unmistakable signs of returning prosperity. Four years of wise and prudent administration are at last bringing their reward, and we are now definitely climbing out of the trough of industrial depression. . . .

We all know what these speeches were worth. We know that despite the fine words the unemployment figures kept climbing and the extreme hardship of the working class got deeper and harsher. We know that the vision of the Promised Land duped the workers in the Thirties and then faded in the flames of the 1939 War. The war was itself an excuse for yet another vision of peace and prosperity which was to come out of the hardships endured in the defeating of German capitalism. Now the wartime visions have disappeared, to be replaced by others. And the working class are still being duped.

Perhaps one of the things which helps in this is the fact that many workers today have the things which, before the last war, were essential scenery in the Promised Land. Of all the households in this country, about 33 per cent. run a car; 46 per cent. have a washing machine; 82 per cent. have a television set. Only rich

people had these things before the war; now they are wider spread. Does this mean, as the politicians claim, that the working class are prosperous? It is true that working class conditions change—they could hardly stand still—as productive techniques develop. But this is not to say that these conditions improve. The conditions and standards of the unemployed workers in the Thirties were different, and technically higher, than those of the Regency aristocrats; but who were the better off?

Needs

It is in this perspective that we must look at working class conditions today. The radio industry was bound to make a lot of television sets after the war and was equally bound to want to sell them as widely as possible. This means that the workers who once queued up to see poor films at their local cinema can now enjoy the same sort of drivel without leaving their own armchairs. People who once kept hiking and cycling clubs in a healthy condition can now jump into their cheap cars and drive straight to the nearest traffic jam, to pass the time breathing in the exhaust fumes of other cheap cars. Working class wives often need a washing machine because they have so little time to do the job the old way; a lot of their day is spent at work, earning the money to pay for the washing machine. If this is the Promised Land, was it worth the journey?

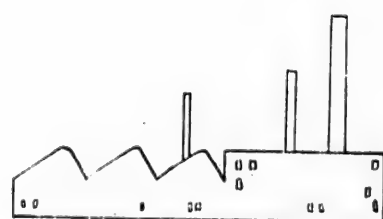
Let us spell it out simply. There are two types of people living under capitalism. One type owns land, factories, steamships, and so on, and gets enough—and often very much more than enough—from these to live. The other type—there are a lot of people like this—do not own any of these things and to live they have to find somebody to employ them. This second type is the working class and it is they who take all the knocks which capitalism dishes out. They are the people who in the best of times must struggle to balance their budget and who in a slump can descend to a dreadfully low level. They are the people who suffer the strain of an insecure existence. So they are the people who may get impatient with capitalism; they are the people who must be distracted with the politicians' visions of the Promised Land.

We all know the famous saying that it is better to travel hopefully than to arrive. But for the working class there is no arrival, because there is no end to their journey in capitalism, so they must travel without hope. Until, that is, they see through the whole shabby ruse and do something about it.

IVAN.

★ QUESTIONS OF THE
DAY (1/3 post paid)

Past and Present



CURES FOR STRIKES

STRIKES HAVE been increasing in recent years and from all sides we are offered advice about how to reduce them; another Royal Commission, new laws to enforce ballots before strikes or to make "unofficial" strikes illegal, more discipline by union executives over their members, or more effective control by members of the unions, and the TUC, compulsory arbitration, and so on.

None of it is new except that the name-calling alters. At present the "Communists" are the scapegoats; it used to be the Trotskyists, or Anarchists or Syndicalists, or some other group of agitators who were supposed to be hypnotising the otherwise happy and placid workers into troublesome actions.

The number of days lost owing to strikes in 1962 was 5,794,000, the highest number in any year since the war. The annual average in the years 1945 to 1954 was about 2 million days. Since 1955 it has averaged about twice as many; but compared with years 1910 to 1929 the current level is very small in spite of the big increase in the number of members of trade unions from about 3 million to nearly 10 million. The peak number of days lost by strikes and lockouts was 162 million in 1926, the year of the General Strike, but over the whole twenty years from 1910 to 1929 the annual average was about 23 million days, nearly four times as many in 1962.

Every time there is a wave of strikes the demand goes up for inquiry and legislation. The Royal Commission set up in 1891 to enquire into relations between employers and employed led to the Conciliation Act of 1896, aimed to encourage the setting up of conciliation boards. The Government also established a branch of the Board of Trade to look after disputes and try to bring about peaceful settlements.

The wave of unrest during the first World War, and notably the activities of the shop stewards and the numerous "unofficial" strikes, led to further inquiry and reports (the Whitley Reports) which recommended the setting up of permanent joint industrial councils and factory committees. Another innovation was the Industrial Court of Arbitration.

Some well-meaning (and some not so

well-meaning) advocates of arbitration wanted the unions to renounce strikes entirely, and to rely on the benevolence of arbitrators. Fortunately most trade unionists continued to regard the readiness to strike as their necessary and proper function. They accepted the conciliation and arbitration in some measure, but they kept their powder dry.

Some idea of what happens when workers refrain from using strike pressure in the wage struggle can be seen by comparing two periods in recent history in which trade conditions and the amount of unemployment were much the same, but in one of which government propaganda in favour of "wage restraint" had more effect. In the years of Labour Government after the war many workers were persuaded that they ought not to embarrass the government by pressing wage claims. In that period average weekly wage rates were more or less continuously falling behind the rise of the cost of living. With the advent of the Tory Government in 1951, the argument for wage restraint had lost most of its pull; the earlier trend was reversed and wage rates have been rising more than prices.

While many of the panaceas that were popular earlier in the century are still

being preached there is one that has hardly survived in face of experience, that is the old Labour Party belief that once industry was nationalised unrest would largely disappear. Ramsay MacDonald, Prime Minister in the Labour Governments of 1924 and 1929, wrote about this in his book *Socialism: Critical and Constructive* (1929 edition, pages 168-9). He tells of having met the managers of industry that had been privately run and was then nationalised, the same managers having been in post before and after.

Then the change came and the relations were revolutionised. They met the men round a table and not across it, they had to discuss with the men the whole problem of management; the men made suggestions to them, which when settled they all took part in carrying out, men and managers became co-operators. . . . They would never dream of going back to the old bad relationship. . . . The men had abandoned of their own free will the most provocative restrictions which they had enforced—or tried to enforce—as a protection against capitalism, and which inevitably hampered production.

MacDonald did not identify the industry or even the country in which it was supposed to have happened; it certainly does not happen now in the nationalised industries in this and other countries as the repeated strikes testify.

One of MacDonald's colleagues, the late Sidney Webb, gave his views on the subject in an address he delivered to a gathering of employers, managers and foremen in 1919, "The Root of Labour Unrest." He named a number of things the workers wanted, including the usual claim for higher wages and shorter hours, but insisted that these were less important than the workers' desire for equal status and partnership in management. Like MacDonald he thought that nationalisation by a Labour Government would bring about this change, because, as he put it, industry would then have a new function "to produce not profits, but products."

There is nothing wrong with this conception, it is indeed the basic idea of Socialism. What was, and is amiss with the advocates of nationalisation is that

[continued bottom next page]

Companion Parties

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

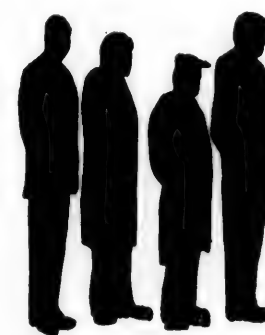
Gen. Sec: 5 Granville Buildings, 53 High Street, Belfast 1

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Petone,
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.



Lord Hailsham, J. H. Thomas and King Canute

WHAT CONNECTING link is there between these three worthies, two dead and one living? The two first-named are easily bracketed. Lord Hailsham, Minister in a Tory Government is dealing with unemployment problems, thus re-enacting the role that J. H. Thomas took on for the Labour Government under Ramsay MacDonald in June, 1929. As Lord Privy Seal and Minister of Unemployment he was aided by Sir Oswald Mosley, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and George Lansbury, First Commissioner of Works: both of whom seem to have held the opinion that J. H. Thomas and other members of the Government were problems as difficult as unemployment.

The story is told in the biography, *The Right Honourable*, by H. R. S. Phillpot, published in 1932, in a chapter suitably called "Beaten by Unemployment."

Unemployment was already a serious problem before the Labour Government was formed. Thomas and other Labour Party leaders had been campaigning up and down the country denouncing the apathy and callousness of Prime Minister Baldwin and promising to put things right if returned at the election. Thomas concentrated on unemployment, "made it his speciality, worked at it, talked of it and helped to devise plans to arrest its dreadful progress."

He argued that it would be a good idea to pay 10s. or 15s. a week to workers over 65 to get them to retire and make room for younger workers. He attacked armaments. Europe, he said, was like

continued from previous page

they fail to see that capitalism, whether private or State, can only operate on the basis of production for sale and profit.

Unrest and strikes are not the result of faulty ways of regulating the relations of "labour" and "capital" (one of Webb's charges was that the employers showed "bad manners" in their attitude to the workers), but are aspects of the class struggle between the owning class and the non-owning class. Webb and MacDonald and all the other tinkers are trying to abolish the symptoms while retaining their cause.

H.

an armed camp. The nations were spending millions on armaments "which, if they spent on production, would help to solve the problem of unemployment."

Can he really not have noticed that this would simultaneously create unemployment among armament workers and soldiers? There are plenty of people as muddled today, so perhaps it was beyond him.

He favoured building the Channel Tunnel, and raising the school-leaving age to get 400,000 teenagers off the labour market, and when he became Minister he went travelling in Canada to pick up markets for British exports—in Canada he can hardly have failed to notice that there were other gentlemen trying to solve their own unemployment problem. He discussed the problem with spokesmen of the employers and the trade unions.

Some of his oratorical efforts read remarkably like statements made today: "Curing unemployment, he argued, would cost money, but no cost could be too great if by incurring it the progress of demoralisation could be stopped."

But two years later as a member of the National Government he was supporting government economy measures to cut down the spending of money.

He and the Labour Government rejected the rival schemes for curing unemployment put forward by Lloyd George and the Liberals. Lloyd George (advised by Keynes, among others) favoured the idea of the Government raising big loans and spending the money on the schemes which would create jobs.

Thomas argued that this could only be a temporary measure, whereas what was wanted was something lasting: a complete overhaul and modernisation of the depressed industries to make them competitive.

But he didn't get any results either short-term or long-term.

His biographer wrote: "The special duty entrusted to Mr. Thomas was that of curing unemployment. It was, of course, an impossible duty. Whether he realised how impossible it was nobody knows, but he undertook the task which eventually proved too much for him."

When Thomas took on the job of wiping out unemployment it stood at

1,164,000. Six months later it had jumped to 1,344,000 and in 12 months, to 1,911,000. Two years from the start it exceeded 2,700,000.

Which brings us to King Canute. The legend credits him with the modest desire to convince his courtiers that even a crowned head could not command the tide to recede. If he had been a modern politician he would have ordered things differently. He need only have taken up position at high tide, just before the turn, and he could have got away with it.

The story is that that is just what J. H. Thomas thought he was doing. He is said to have consulted a well-known economic expert before taking on the job, and only took it on being assured that the economic tide was about to turn and unemployment would fall.

Perhaps Lord Hailsham will be luckier in his timing.

H.

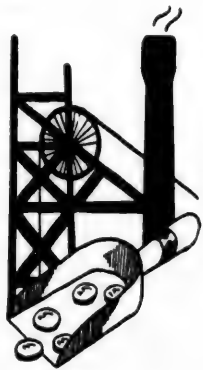


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FINANCE AND INDUSTRY



POLITICS

A tax on wealth

Time was when the Labour Party paid lip-service at least to the idea of dispossessing the capitalist class of its wealth. Only a few years ago they were pushing the panacea of nationalisation, that travesty of Socialism, though they were prepared even to dilute this by liberal helpings of compensation.

Now, nationalisation, even of this milk-and-water variety, has become a dirty word. The latest idea is a wealth tax—nothing too sweeping, you understand, an annual levy on say all wealth over £20,000 to bring in perhaps £200 million in extra taxation.

Mr. Callaghan, Labour's shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer, was deputed to fly the kite. But he was careful not to go too far nor to frighten anybody. "... only one person in every 100 would be affected," he said, pointing out that such taxes on wealth already operated in many countries, including Sweden, West Germany, Belgium, Norway, Holland, India, and Denmark—nothing at all "revolutionary" about the idea in fact.

Of course, the idea is not revolutionary. But since when has anybody thought that anything emanating from the Labour Party has the remotest connection with revolution? And, even on the Labour Party's own shallow terms, what feeling can anyone now have, other than contempt, for its latest line?

INCOMES

Who earns what?

If only for the record, the latest income figures from the Inland Revenue deserve mention.

Last year, they report, the number of people earning more than £100,000 a year jumped from 63 to 81. There were similar increases in all the top income

brackets. Here is the full table (number the previous year in brackets):

Earnings	Numbers
Over £100,000	81 (63)
£75,000-£100,000	82 (58)
£50,000-£75,000	243 (210)
£40,000-£50,000	300 (226)
£30,000-£40,000	756 (590)
£25,000-£30,000	878 (632)
£20,000-£25,000	1,641 (1,372)

Contrast this with the bottom end of the scale where 1.3 million earned about £500 a year; 2.6 million, £600; and 2.2 million, £700. In addition, another 2.1 million earned hardly enough to pay income tax at all.

There are still people who believe in the myth that incomes are being equalised. These figures should shake them, for they show not the slightest evidence of a trend towards equality.

Of course, some will agree that the details relate to figures before tax and that it is only after this has been deducted that the comparison should be made. Agreed, the gap becomes narrower when this is done. But our "equalitarians" must really be simple people if they think this shows the true picture. Even as regards income, there are still many ways—and not illegal ones, either—of evading the tax net. "Expenses on the firm" is only the most well-known device for doing this, there are others.

But let us come down to fundamentals. Income is any case dependent on wealth—it is ownership of wealth that really matters and all the wishful thinking in the world cannot wish away the fundamental fact that the pattern of wealth ownership has remained virtually unchanged. Roughly 10 per cent. of the population still owns roughly 90 per cent. of the country's wealth.

And that is the fact that matters.

BUSINESS

Mergers and takeovers

There have been fairly frequent comments in these columns recently about the growing trend towards concentration in industry. Hardly a day goes by without an announcement somewhere of a merger or takeover. Sometimes the takeovers involve really big business, as with the abortive attempt by I.C.I. on Courtaulds; more often it is the big concerns swallowing up the medium and small fry, or the medium ones taking over their lesser brethren. Mergers tend to take place between equals, to avoid competition between themselves or to

make themselves strong enough to resist bigger rivals.

All this is well-known. But just how far has the development gone? Exactly how much concentration is there in modern British industry?

The Conservative Bow Group has recently made an effort to answer these questions in a pamphlet called *Monopolies and Mergers*. Taking the three biggest firms in each industry, they have calculated what proportion they account for of the total output. Some of the results can only be taken as broad guides, but here are their findings:

	Output £m	Ratio %
Man-made fibres	43	89
Mineral oil refining	31	87½
Locomotives and track equipment	34	82
Tobacco	78	80½
Sugar	15	78½
Dyestuffs	22	76
Explosives and fire-works	29	74½
Margarine	7	70½
Soap, detergents, candles	29	69
Cement	23	67
Steel tubes	58	65½
Watches and clocks	5	65

There are really no surprises in the list—artificial fibres, oil refining, tobacco, sugar, dyestuffs, margarine and soap, are all well-known as being mainly in the hands of a few prominent firms.

We should add that the figures relate to 1958 and some of the percentages may actually have risen since then as the result of further takeovers or mergers.

INDUSTRY

Stranger still

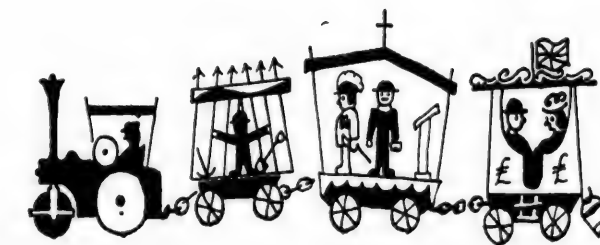
In last month's STANDARD we mentioned that the French subsidiary of the U.S. Remington office machinery firm had recently been closed down and production transferred to the factory in Holland. This was followed, a few days later, by the closing of the typewriter side of the company in Glasgow and its transfer, again, to Holland. Altogether, a nice example of the international workings of present-day capitalism.

We also discussed in the same issue the surprise and secret takeover by U.S. Chrysler of the French car firm, Simca; adding that 25 per cent. of the shares in the Simca concern were actually owned by one of its competitors, Italian Fiat.

The latest development in the story is the news that the former Remington fac-

[continued bottom next page]

THE PASSING SHOW



Aggrieved

Much controversy followed the BBC's recent broadcast of a filmed interview with General de Gaulle's arch-enemy, M. Bidault, who is a former French Premier and Foreign Secretary. Bidault leads the OAS, the organization of the Algerian settlers who were aggrieved by the decision of French capitalism to abandon the French landed interests in Algeria and make terms instead with developing Algerian capitalism. The OAS blames this decision on De Gaulle, although the French capitalist state could hardly in the last resort have decided otherwise. Bidault's group have already killed many opponents both in Algeria and France, and several attempts have been made on the life of De Gaulle.

Indiscriminate assassination

The BBC's Director-General defended the BBC's action on the grounds that, if the position were reversed, the French TV service might well have done the same. The Conservative MP, Gilbert Longden, retorted that

the BBC themselves describe Bidault as "the man most closely associated with the OAS." Does their Director-General really believe that "a former British Prime Minister or Foreign Secretary" would be the leader of an organisation which sought to attain its political ends by the indiscriminate assassination and disablement of scores of innocent men, women and children?

The pronouncements of MPs never cease to amaze. Has Mr. Longden really forgotten that every living "former British Prime Minister" and every living "former British Foreign Secretary" supported the British capitalist class to the hilt in the Second World War? Has Mr. Longden really forgotten that in that war the British Government not only "sought to attain its political ends" (the removal of the German threat to British markets and profits) "by the indiscriminate assassination and disablement of scores of innocent men, women and children"—it went much further: by bombing German, Italian and Japanese cities, the British Government (and its allies) indiscriminately assassinated and disabled not scores but thousands and hundreds of thousands of innocent men, women and children. Ghostly though its outrages may be, the OAS is merely an apprentice in assassination and disablement compared with the British Governments of the two world wars. Mr. Longden himself supported the British Government in the last war: why does he now pretend to be shocked by the OAS?

You pays your money

From *The Times*, Tuesday, February 19th, 1963:

The National Economic Development Council are to press ahead with forceful recommendations for faster growth in the

national economy. . . . By last night, after two days' discussion with the Chancellor in the chair, the N.E.D.C. was a more united body than it has ever been. . . . The council's March policy statements are thus likely to be on all those subjects where they can find basic agreement. A cornerstone of a coherent N.E.D.C. policy must be an incomes policy. And the council show some optimism about producing at least a framework which has the seal of the Government, management, and trade union members. This alone would be more than the country has had before.

From the *Daily Herald*, Tuesday, February 19th, 1963:

The Government's long-term plans for economic recovery reached crisis point last night. The crisis emerged in Neddly—the National Economic Development Council—made up of Government Ministers, top industrialists and leading members of the Trades Union Congress. They are the experts on whom the Government have been relying to produce a united drive for expansion and a lasting solution to unemployment. But after a two-day debate touching every aspect of the nation's economy—all day Sunday and all day yesterday—the Neddly men have still not produced any signpost for the way ahead. . . . The fact is that it is becoming more and more difficult for the Neddly experts to reach agreement on positive action.

Apparently it is difficult for others besides the Neddly experts to reach agreement.

ALWYN EDGAR.

continued from previous page]

tory in France may soon be taken over by, guess who? Yes, you're right. Fiat.

What Fiat intend to do with it if they buy it has not yet been disclosed. But whether it has to do with cars, or typewriters, or something quite different, we can be sure of one thing—there is the prospect of profit in it somewhere.

All we need to really complete the story, of course, would be able to say next month that the former Remington factory in Glasgow had also been taken over in its turn—by Simca.

Who knows? Capitalism is fast becoming nonsensical enough for anything.

S.H.

Letters

THIS MONEY BUSINESS

Sir,
Socialists must be "suckers" if they swallow the half-baked stuff written by Dick Jacobs in the December "S.S."

Money is indispensable in a complex industrial society such as ours. It represents a *claim on society*, which should be everyone's right. In a society that genuinely believed in the brotherhood of man, this would be recognised.

What is wrong is that anyone should

have to work for money in order to live. For this today turns him into a slave. It is unnecessary. Today, with mass-production and technology, fewer and fewer people are actually needed to do the necessary work of society. The rest have to find unnecessary work through industries designed to induce people (with or without money) to acquire unnecessary wants, or in expensive war preparations etc.



SOCIALIST STANDARD 1963

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Dick Jacobs definition of money—a "medium of exchange and measure of value" is only something he has read out of a book! Money—whatever its form—is the country's credit.

Today, this is mostly manipulated by the Joint Stock banks for their own profit, when this function should belong to society. Hence, what should be free, accumulates as debt, with interest. This, with our huge National Debt, leads to inflation.

While shells, gold, or anything else that is scarce, can be used as currency—in Europe in 1945 cigarettes filled the role—paper does just as well if there is confidence in it. It is costless, and in a properly organised society it can be scientifically adjusted to society's actual needs.

Common ownership of wealth doesn't touch the problem, let alone solve it! That way can only lead to another tyranny! It is *society's control over its own credit* that matters. For then, but only then, will it be possible to make everyone, unconditionally, and as by right, a *shareholder in Great Britain Ltd.* And whether we call that "Capitalism" or "Socialism" won't matter two hoots!

This is neither more nor less than practical Christianity.

Guernsey, C.I.

L. KNIGHT.

REPLY

You criticise the article in the SOCIALIST STANDARD for December, 1962, and attempt to show why money will continue to be necessary.

Both on grounds of historical accuracy and of theory your arguments are quite unconvincing.

Your first contention is that money is indispensable because we live in a "complex industrial society." You omit to say which complexities you mean. They are of two kinds (a) the technical complexities of production and transport and (b) the financial and commercial complexities of capitalist private property.

Of course, money is indispensable to the latter. But equally the existence of money is not related to the complexities or absence of complexities of production and transport. This you know very well because you accept that money functioned in primitive communities where there were no such complexities.

Your second line is that "money—whatever its form—is the country's credit": yet, as you know, it functioned when and where there was no credit system and no banks.

As a side line you link up inflation causally with the existence of a huge national debt. It is no more true than its converse. The currency *deflation* in

Britain in the nineteen twenties was carried out alongside a huge national debt).

We accept (we have been saying it for half a century) that with capitalism removed the production of socially useful articles and services could be vastly increased, so that a Socialist world, with people taking *freely* what they need, is a practical proposition. But you, without giving any reason whatever, still want the consumption of these articles to be dependant on the possession of money.

You actually use the phrase that living by right should be "unconditional," yet you want it to be conditional on the possession of money.

You manage to discuss the existing social system without mentioning its fundamental basis, that the means of production and distribution are privately owned and concentrated in the hands of a small minority. It is precisely because you turn a blind eye on this basic fact of capitalism that you can pretend that the difference between capitalism and socialism is a mere matter of words.

It also leads you into the absurdity of supposing that armaments exist to provide work for redundant workers. The armed forces exist for the purpose, very necessary to the capitalists, of protecting their ownership against the dispossessed class at home and foreign capitalist groups abroad.

Our contributor was quite right; and it is not Socialists who are (to use your word) "suckers" but those who cannot see the realities of capitalism.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

GLASGOW MAY DAY RALLY

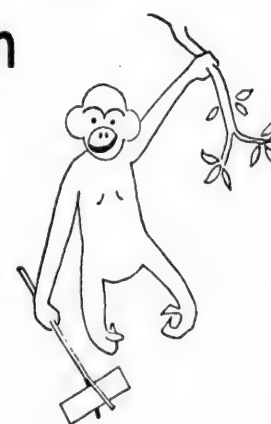
Sunday May 5th

3pm
QUEENS PARK

7.30 pm

CENTRAL HALLS
BATH STREET

Branch News



The Annual Conference of the Party takes place in London, at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, April 12th, 13th and 14th. Fuller details are shown elsewhere in this issue. Following Conference, in London on April 18th (Thursday), **Paddington Branch** are holding a meeting at Hampstead Town Hall, Haverstock Hill, N.W.3 at 7.30 p.m. The title "After Aldermaston, What?" It is many years since the Party has held a meeting in Hampstead and much work is being done to ensure the success of this meeting.

Lewisham Branch is holding a public meeting at Bromley High Street Public Library, East Street, Bromley on Friday, April 26th at 8 p.m. Title, "The Socialist Party of Great Britain and the H-Bomb". Speaker: P. Lawrence. This meeting is being organised by the Branch and the **Bromley Group** members.

On no account miss getting a copy of the May SOCIALIST STANDARD. A larger STANDARD for the occasion, featuring the Housing Problem. The price will not be increased, therefore, it behoves all members to sell as many copies as possible, not only to meet the additional cost, but most important, to give a good boost to propaganda at the commencement of the outdoor propaganda season. If every regular reader *at least* doubled their order, it will be a help. If branches, at their meetings prominently show and advertise the May issue and urge more members to rally round with sales, it could be that a record number of copies are sold. Let's go to it and break all records!

The three-branch (Bloomsbury, Ealing and Paddington) joint propaganda venture has proved most successful, and as previously mentioned other branches might well try out this idea. The January meeting held at Paddington was a lecture on the Common

Market, at Ealing, on March 1st a "Brains Trust" meeting was held at the Branch meeting room. Questions were written before the meeting and a panel of three members answered the questions. There was good discussion the one regret was that time was so short. The occasion was very successful. Bloomsbury are holding their meeting in May. Owing to Conference it was considered better to leave the meeting for a month. On May 13th (Monday) the small Conway Hall has been reserved and a meeting similar to the one held at Ealing is proposed. As the hall holds many more people than the two previous halls, it is hoped that Comrades will bring along as many friends as possible. Light refreshments will be available.

Soon we hope to give full details of the adventures of our comrade Joe McGuinness who has been working on a boat, travelling around the world, and Joe, being the man he is, has "cashed in" at many ports of call where Party members were, Canada, U.S.A., Australia and New Zealand. He has done a recording for a non-commercial broadcasting station in Canada. This being only one of his many activities in spreading the case for Socialism.

We are sorry to record the death of Edward Littler who some older members will remember. "Ted", a Lancashire collier, emigrated to New Zealand where he first had contact with the Party during the first world war. (Party members working in the Merchant Navy frequently held meetings in New Zealand and it was at these meetings that he first heard the case for Socialism.) Whilst there he met Moses Barritz and helped him at his propaganda meetings. Later Ted Littler returned to England and for some years worked in the pits around Doncaster. Ill health, due to the atmosphere in the mines caused him to become a chronic invalid for some years. But always he put the Party case in his discussions with people with whom he came in contact. Also, he wrote lengthy letters to comrades, arguing and clarifying various aspects of the Socialist attitude to capitalism.

Comrade Littler died in hospital at Wigan on March 1st.

Ealing Branch's season of lectures, films, and discussions continued during March with an inter-branch "Brains Trust" and a film "World Without End". The brains trust was particularly successful. Three members, one from each branch (Bloomsbury, Paddington and Ealing) answered questions put to them at random, and after each question the meeting was thrown open to further questions to the speakers and to contributions from the audience itself. Altogether, it was agreed that the experiment had resulted in a most useful and enjoyable evening, and is the kind of thing that could be profitably extended to other areas where Party branches are grouped reasonably closely together. We understand, in fact, that other branches have it already in mind to arrange similar events in their own areas.

P. H.

Meetings

GLASGOW LECTURES

Woodside Halls, Clarendon Street
Sundays, 7.30 pm

MARXIST CLASSICS

April 7th

"THE RIGHT TO BE LAZY"

April 14th

"SOCIALISM UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC"

April 21st

"WAGE-LABOUR AND CAPITAL"

April 28th

"THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO"

BROMLEY MEETING

Bromley Public Library (Lecture Room) High Street

Friday, April 26th at 8 pm

SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE H-BOMB

Speaker: P. Lawrence

WEMBLEY LECTURE

Barham Old Court, Barham Park, Harrow Road, Wembley

April 22nd, 8 pm

RACE

Speaker: M. Judd

PUBLIC MEETING

Hampstead Town Hall, Haverstock Hill, Belsize Park, NW3

Thursday, April 18th, 7.30 pm

AFTER ALDERMASTON—WHAT?

HORNSEY LECTURE

Maynard Arms, Park Road, Hornsey
Wednesday, April 24th, 8 pm

THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY

Speaker: L. Cox

NOTTINGHAM MEETING

Co-operative Hall
Sunday, 7th April, 2.30 pm

IS THE LABOUR PARTY SOCIALIST?

Speaker: R. Cook

BLOOMSBURY MEETING

Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. WC1
Monday, May 13th, 7.30 pm

ANY QUESTIONS?

HEAD OFFICE MEETINGS

52 Clapham High St., SW4

Sundays, April 7th 7.30 pm

DEBATE

WHICH PARTY
SHOULD THE
WORKING CLASS
SUPPORT?

Conservatives
Henry Tomkin

or SPGB L. Weidberg

Conway Hall
Red Lion Sq. WC1
Monday 22 April

7pm

Wednesday 1st May

MAY DAY

RALLY 7.30 pm

CAXTON HALL

WESTMINSTER, SW1

"World Without War"



HIROSHIMA, August 1945

Sunday 5th May 3 pm

RALLY HYDE PARK

Sun 14th April 7.30

CONFERENCE RALLY CONWAY HALL

RED LION SQ., HOLBORN, WC1

"Capitalism-the Sick Society"

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays

Hyde Park, 3 pm

East Street

April 7 & 28 (11 am)

April 14th (1 pm)

April 21st (noon)

Mondays

Lincolns Inn Fields, 1-2 pm

Thursdays

Tower Hill, 12.30-2

Rushcroft Road, 8 pm

Saturdays

THE INHUMANITY OF WAR

WAR can solve no working class problem. It cuts across the fundamental identity of interest of the workers of the world, setting sections of this class at enmity with each other in the interests of sections of the capitalist class.

War elevates force into the position of arbiter in place of the common human desire for mutual peace and happiness. Its effect is wholly evil. It depraves all the participants by forcing them to concentrate upon the best methods of producing misery and of annihilating each other.

War elevates lying, cheating, disabling and murdering opponents into virtues, confers distinctions upon those who practise these means most successfully.

Young men and women, in their most impressionable years, have the vile methods of warfare impressed upon them so thoroughly that they lose a balanced outlook on life and are impregnated with the idea that force, with all its baseness, and not reason is the final solution in all problems.

Socialism is completely opposed to war and to what war represents. At the same time it is the only solution to the conditions that breed war. It is a new form of society in which the people of the world will work harmoniously together for their mutual benefit, for there will be neither privilege nor property to cause enmity.

No coercion will be needed in Socialism because each will gain from co-operating harmoniously with his fellows. But it is a new social system that demands understanding of its implications from those who seek to establish it.

With the establishment of Socialism war will disappear and humanity will have taken the first step out of the jungle.

From "The Socialist Party and War"

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SPECIAL
NUMBER

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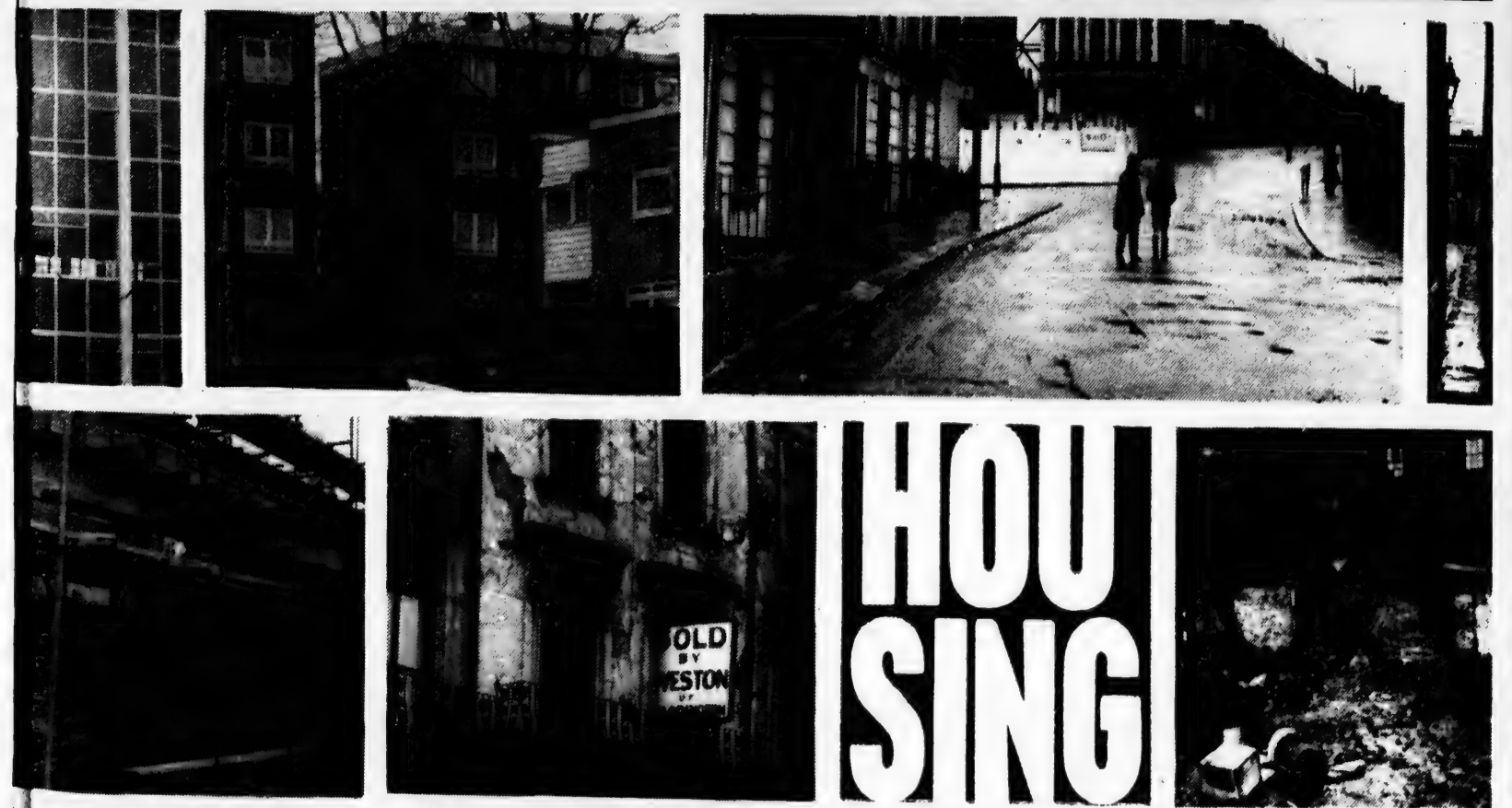
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SOCIALIST STANDARD

Official Journal of the Socialist Party of Great Britain

The housing problem

In face of the facts nobody claims that the housing problem has been solved after a 100 years of solutions. Nor will it be as long as capitalism lasts. Only when all production is carried on solely for use, by and in the interest of the whole community, will the production of houses be brought into line with human need.



IN THIS ISSUE REPORTS FROM SCOTLAND, WALES, LONDON, THE MIDLANDS AND NORTH

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1) That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2) That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3) That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4) That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5) That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6) That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7) That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8) The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Branches

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY 1st and 3rd Thursdays (2nd & 16th May) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: SPGB 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, 3rd May at 7 Cyril Road, Baxleyheath (Tel: 8EX 1950) and 17th May at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

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GLASGOW Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

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THE HOUSING PROBLEM

THE ECONOMICS OF HOUSING . . .	68
HOUSING IN HISTORY	69
SNAKES AND LADDERS	70
HOUSING AND HUMAN PROBLEMS . . .	71
THE WHOLE TRAGIC MESS	72
SCOTLAND — PROGRESSING BACKWARDS	73
MIDLANDS AND THE NORTH, SLUMDOM	74
WALES—THE LEASEHOLD RACKET . . .	75
LONDON—ITS THE SAME IN THE SPRAWL	76
CANADA—THE SAME STORY	77
PROPERTY OWNING DEMOCRACY . . .	78
NEWS IN REVIEW	79
FINANCE AND INDUSTRY	81
PROFITS BEFORE LIFE	82
BRANCH NEWS & MEETINGS	83



THE HOUSING PROBLEM

This month we publish another special issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD. As many of our readers will know, we do this from time to time when we wish to deal more fully with a topic of current importance. Sometimes our subject is what we might call a "perennial" feature of capitalism, something that is linked with and indissoluble from it—like war. At other times we have concentrated our attention on particular, perhaps passing, features or events—such as Africa or the Common Market.

In this issue we give our special consideration to a topic that many people are inclined to dismiss, rather surprisingly, as something new, something temporary, something that will soon be coped with and disposed of. We speak of the housing problem.

Yet the harsh fact is that the problem of housing, far from being a temporary inconvenience or a passing hardship, is a problem as old as capitalism itself and one that will remain unresolved as long as capitalism lasts.

Over ninety years ago, Frederick Engels was writing about housing. In a pamphlet called *The Housing Question* he exposed the pretensions of the reformers of his day to be able to solve the problem, and the hopes of their successors to do anything better, so long as capitalism lasted. What is the situation now, almost a century later?

Many of the houses that in Engels' day had already been standing for thirty, forty, even fifty years, are still standing now. I.T.V.'s Coronation Street was named, not after George VI's coronation in 1937, nor George V's in 1910, nor yet after Edward VII's in 1901, but after Queen Victoria's in 1837. And in Salford, which Engels knew well, they have only just got round to pulling down Waterloo Place, built in 1815 and named to commemorate the victory over Napoleon.

Today, there are more than one million houses in this country, probably worse than those in Coronation Street, reckoned to be unfit for habitation. Be that as it may, people still inhabit them and many will do so for a long time yet. And so low are the standards that "qualify" a house for this category that even one million is certainly an underestimate. In Liverpool alone there are 88,000 houses beyond any prospect of repair; in Birmingham 50,000 families are on the waiting list for houses for which the average waiting time is eight years; in Oldham it has been estimated that the staggering proportion of one house in four is unfit to live in. And in London, where the situation is perhaps the most acute of all, the families of the homeless are forced to walk the streets.

The political parties of capitalism all profess to be concerned with the problem, of course, just as they have been doing since Engels' time. They engage in mutual recrimination about it, just as they have always done. The Labour Party reproach the Tories for building only 300,000 houses a year; the Tories retort that while the Labour Party was in office the annual housebuilding rate only once exceeded 200,000.

We are treated, it goes without saying, to all the usual promises of what each party intends to do if elected next time. In 1945, before they became the Government, the Labour Party boasted "We shall build four or five million houses and knock down any amount of slums". Said the former Conservative housing minister only last year, "The Government intend to see that every family

BOTH SIDES (1)

It's a proper home for my kiddies I want—you can't bring them up in a place like this. We'd go to Hong Kong if necessary to get one. (Mrs. Ford, London slumdweller—*News Chronicle*, 27.11.56.)

Mr. Colin Tennant, 32, Princess Margaret's friend, is buying, on behalf of his family, an island in the West Indies. It is Mustique Island, in the Grenadines. Extending over 1,250 acres, it has eight magnificent beaches. I understand that the price to be paid will be in the region of £50,000. (*Sunday Express*, 5.4.59.)

has its home, and a decent home, that is the pledge". Switch the promises, or the parties saying them, or the times when they were said, it does not matter very much. The game goes on much the same.

Frederick Engels, we have no doubt, would find it all rather familiar. Certainly familiar enough to be able to say, as he did over 90 years ago and with just as much relevance and justification, "The so-called housing shortage, which plays such a great role in the press nowadays, does not consist in the fact, that the working class generally lives in bad, overcrowded and unhealthy dwellings. This shortage is not something peculiar to the present; it is not even one of the sufferings peculiar to the modern proletariat in contradistinction to all earlier oppressed classes. On the contrary, all oppressed classes in all periods suffered more or less uniformly from it. In order to make an end of this housing shortage there is only one means; to abolish altogether the exploitation and oppression of the working class by the ruling class".

Would he find anything about the present housing problem to cause him to change even one word of this statement?

He would not. Capitalism is the real problem we must deal with. It was then. It is now.



The economics of housing

THE worker who cannot get a house, or has to put up with overcrowding, or who struggles for years with payments on a mortgage, will ask why something is not done about it. He may be surprised, though not helped, to be told that a great many people for a long time have been vainly busy with the problem.

Since 1851, when the first Housing Act was passed by Parliament, there have been nearly forty governments, Liberal, Tory and Labour, and every one of them has been pledged in some way or other to deal with the housing problem. Many fact-finding inquiries have been made by government departments, Royal Commissions or private organizations; hundreds of books and reports have been issued; and Lord Shaftesbury, who sponsored the 1851 Act, has been followed by a long line of well intentioned social reformers who, on humanitarian or other grounds, sought the abolition of slums and overcrowding or tried to keep rents down. One Royal Commission on Housing, 1885, had as a member the then Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII.

Yet after all this time the housing problem has not been solved and it shows no sign of being solved now. What is more, it never has been solved at any time in the past century: there was never a time when people could look round and say that the things had at last been done.

The problem has been there all the time, though to succeeding generations it has seemed to take on different forms. At present it is the overall shortage of decent accommodation which makes the sufferers think how much better it would be if there were so many houses that you could see in every street "House for Sale" or "To let" signs. But that is just what people did see earlier in the century.

In 1911, in England and Wales, there were over 400,000 uninhabited houses, with landlords looking in vain for tenants or buyers, yet at the same time there were another 400,000 houses officially described as "overcrowded." Rents were much lower then than now, but so were wages, and the tenants of the overcrowded houses could not afford to move into the "empties." Anyone who imagines that housing problems started with World War I, or anyone who blames overcrowd-

ing on immigrants, should note that date, 1911. It was before World War I and was at a time when hundreds of thousands of people were leaving this country every year to settle in America and what were then British Colonies. The flow of immigration was out, not in.

The reason the housing problem has never been solved is that it is not really a housing problem at all but part of another and larger problem. The nature of this problem is indicated by the names of some of the housing Acts, names such as "Housing of the Working Classes Act," "Artisans Dwellings Act"—but whoever heard of an Act for the housing of landed aristocrats or one for millionaires and company directors?

In the capitalist world we live in, the making of profit is the driving force behind production, and the employing class to whom the profits flow therefore have a continuing interest in keeping wages down. But they also have an interest in the health and efficiency of the workers they employ. In the nineteenth century, governments and employers were alarmed at the effects on health, physique and working efficiency of slums and overcrowding, but they were and are also concerned about its cost. So all the measures to improve housing or to reduce rents by subsidies or rent restriction have had the wages situation in mind.

When a Tory minister in a coalition government started rent control in 1915 it was because the rise of rents when building stopped during the war was causing violent discontent, and workers were pushing for higher wages. Rents were restricted (at the expense of the landlords) in order to help keep wages down. The same thing happened in other countries, and it was shown by an International Labour Office inquiry into the effect of rent control in some continental countries in 1925 that the low rents had primarily benefited the employers.

In 1956 when the Tory government announced its intention to lift rent control on many houses the spokesmen for the Labour Opposition attacked it on the ground that the raising of rents would provoke determined and successful pressure by the workers for higher wages. This is indeed what happened. The year 1957 was a peak year for strikes. Wages went up by

more than the average rise of the cost of living, and the addition to the total wage bill of the employers in fact exceeded the increase in rent gained by the landlords.

The employers had never minded the landlords being squeezed by rent control in the first place, but it became evident in the course of years that restricted rents and low profits for landlords had as one of their consequences the deterioration of housing and the creation of mere near-slums. All three of the big political parties recognised this, though the remedies they offered were different. While the Tories imagined (wrongly) that decontrol would bring into the market spare accommodation where tenants were clinging to controlled houses larger than they needed and that this would prevent big increases of rents and house prices, and the Liberals slated them for not having done it sooner, the Labour Party proposed allowing some increase of rents conditional



Housing in industry

ONE of the most persistent fallacies with which the worker seeks to explain away his present miseries is the belief that things were handled much better in the past. Nowhere is this more apparent than when we are confronted by the tragedy of bad housing. "It never used to be like this," runs the argument, "there was once plenty of accommodation available, especially for young people who could start life with a decent home." We have all heard this line of reasoning as well as the inevitable conclusion, "that our problems are a product of the modern world and could be cured by a return to ancient virtues."

History, however, proves such an idea to be quite wrong and that, far from being modern, housing problems are as old as property society itself. Unfortunately poverty and suffering are not considered to be very interesting, so that while there is a mass of information on the great buildings of the world, very little is available on the dwellings of those who by their labour made such works possible.

In the lands where the winters are hard and cold, shelter is a desperate necessity, a matter of life and death, while to be homeless is a grim experience. The burning of houses and the destruction of cities has long been one of war's cruellest weapons, and throughout history the exploitation of the need for somewhere to live has been one of the nastiest and most profitable of rackets. It is in the great and thriving cities of the world that this racket has had the greatest scope.

Ancient Rome was the capital of a vast empire, and people flocked to it as today they flock to London and New York. This created a situation that was ideal for exploitation on a grand scale. Most people lived, not in the elegant villas that are usually portrayed as typical Roman houses, but in blocks of tenements. Built of brick and concrete, their construction was shoddy to an extent that would have shocked even a modern jerry-builder. Builders economized on bricks to such a degree that the buildings often collapsed, and a decree of Augustus forbade the building of tenements more than 70 feet high. Tenants could purchase a room or a floor, but usually rented space at an exorbitant price. Water on the premises was rare, and fires a common disaster. Many of the famous figures of Rome owed their wealth to this source. Such was the hardship, that Julius Caesar used it to buy political advantage by giving a year's rent to all below a certain income level.

Nearer to our time, the 16th century was the turning point

on improved maintenance. They linked this with the retention or reintroduction of control allied with the policy of wage restraint, as under the last Labour Government.

None of the three parties claimed in 1956 that the existing housing policies had been successful and should be left as they were. For one thing, with an acute shortage, control was to a large extent unenforceable: a writer in *The Times* (17.6.61) estimated that more than half a million houses that were supposed to be controlled were let at illegally high rents. And, in face of the facts, nobody claims that the housing problem has been solved after a hundred years of solutions. Nor will it be as long as capitalism lasts. Only when ALL production is carried on solely for use, by and in the interest of the whole community, will the production of houses be brought into line with human need.

H.

for England in general and London in particular. Previously London had been a town on the edge of the large network of European trade; now it became the centre of a much greater one, spreading over continents. Its population mounted steadily and suburbs sprawled beyond the city walls. People flocked in from the country, many driven by economic changes, and overcrowding became intense as ground rents soared. Meanwhile from France and the Netherlands came thousands of craftsmen to start up business. These were accused of taking the houses of the Londoners, and there were anti-alien riots. A popular demand was that provincials should be sent back home, where it was alleged there were "plenty of empty houses," and to "stop pestering the houses of London." Or in modern terms, "Stop the drift to the South."

Another common misconception to be found mainly amongst "progressives," is that grim housing conditions began with the Victorians and the Industrial Revolution. Most books on town planning and urban development give this impression by swinging from the expensive buildings of the Georgian era and contrasting them with working class housing of the 19th century.

But the conditions described by Engels in 1848 in such terrible slums as the Rookeries could have applied equally to earlier periods. Already in the 17th century, the pattern of the 19th century slum, large houses originally built for the wealthy and broken into make-shift tenements, was well established. It is a pattern which persists to this day. In Commonwealth London a house in the Dowgate Ward was reported to hold 11 married couples and 15 single persons, while a ten room house in Silver Street was inhabited by 10 families, all of whom managed to fit in lodgers. Even the 20th century would be hard put to rival this for overcrowding.

But if the Victorians did not invent degrading housing conditions, they certainly spread them far and wide. Mean housing estates covered what had been a green and pleasant land, and this not only in the old industrial areas but in hitherto thinly populated parts of the country. So now the workers, in addition to living in crumbling old houses, could live in cramped badly built ones put up specially for them.

The 19th century saw the beginning of modern methods of compiling information, and reports and accounts from this period are numerous. But statistics make dull reading: far

better to go into the streets of any town, large or small, and look at the rows of grim little houses known as bye-law houses. These were built as a result of Acts of Parliament that gave to local authorities powers to introduce bye-laws controlling housing conditions. The point about these houses, bare brick terraces of the meanest proportions, often back-to-back with no garden and with the living room opening on to the street, is that they were an *improvement* on what had existed before. This fact speaks more eloquently than any report of what conditions had been like before.

Meanwhile across the Atlantic in New York City similar legislation was being enacted. An act of 1867 made it unlawful to

cover the entire lot when building a tenement. A backyard of 10 feet had to be provided. It became illegal to let rooms that were completely underground. The ceiling had to be 1 foot above kerb level. A later Act insisted on such luxuries as a window in every room. Again, these were improvements. And as with England even these meagre efforts came after many years of agitation.

The 20th century has continued this story. Numerous reports, years of work by well meaning people, constant propaganda and political promises, have produced a string of feeble Acts and bye laws. The success of which readers can judge for themselves.

L. DALE.



Snakes and ladders

THIS is one game which has been going on too long and too fruitlessly for the people who have been forced to play it. The housing problem which we know today came in with capitalism and has defied over a century's efforts to reform it out of existence. The working class are still lost among the Snakes and Ladders, still bemused by the measures which, the politicians assure them, will improve the housing situation but which turn out to have no effect on the problem. The ladders are few and what there are of them are short and rickety. The snakes are many and they are long and slippery and venomous. The promised land—the square marked "Home"—is as far away as ever.

That black thing which we now call the Housing Problem was born in the intense transformation of this country during the Industrial Revolution. The break up of the agricultural communities forced the farm workers into the towns, where the greedy factories were demanding human labour. These people had to have somewhere to live, even if this was a secondary consideration to their ability to produce a profit for their employers. As they were only workers, there was no especial need to provide them with adequate washing and sanitary facilities; no need either to give them an excess of living space and fresh air. So the men who had lately spent their days in the wind and the sun were stacked away, when their stint in the factories was done, into cellars, into the back-to-backs, and into the court houses. In their book *The Bleak Age* the Hammonds record this description of such homes in Manchester in the 1840's:

They are built back to back; without ventilation or drainage; and, like a honeycomb, every particle of space is occupied. Double rows of these house form courts, with, perhaps, a pump at one end and a privy at the other, common to the occupants of about twenty houses.

For the capitalist class, the Industrial Revolution was no time for thinking about anything other than making money. Few of them were farseeing enough to realise that bad housing was a false economy, because it could spread disease the cost of which could wipe out a lot of the profit to be made from the pale, emaciated wretches who lived like vermin in the squalid homes of the expanding industrial towns.

A cholera epidemic in 1832 highlighted this fact and in 1851 came the first Public Acts dealing with housing—the Common Lodging Houses Act and The Labouring Classes Lodging Houses Act. These were thus the first of the many ladders to be propped up for the working class and, typically, they turned out to be snakes after all. The Acts gave local

authorities certain powers which were supposed to enable them to combat the housing problem, but these powers were hardly used—for the good, sound, capitalist reason that the cost of doing so was prohibitive. Since then there have been any number of other Acts dealing with housing. Sometimes the Statute Book has become so choked with legislation that another Act has been needed to clear up the mess and to consolidate the existing measures. Nowadays the term "The Housing Acts" is taken to refer to no less than thirteen separate Acts and to other closely related legislation such as the Town and Country Planning Acts.

Hardly a trick has been left untried. All manner of financial juggling has been authorised, many kinds of inducements have been offered to housing authorities to build. The ladders have all proved to be snakes. The 1923 Housing Act, which was Neville Chamberlain's brainchild, was supposed to encourage private building for sale, so that the buyers would leave their "intermediate" houses to be hungrily occupied by people from the slums. Chamberlain and his experts forgot, however, that the majority of people under capitalism have to live within the limits of their wage. In 1923 there were so many unemployed, and wages were so low, that very few workers could afford the deposit on a house, even though it was only a few pounds. The whole idea of the Act quickly collapsed. In 1924 they had another go. The Housing (Financial Provisions) Act of that year provided for Exchequer grants for houses to let. The capitalist class themselves dismantled that ladder; in 1932 the Ray Committee on Local Expenditure recommended the abolition of all Exchequer aid for housing other than that for rehousing slum dwellers because the economics of the thing did not justify government aid. This recommendation was put into effect by the Housing (Financial Provisions) Act of 1933.

So it has gone on through the years. One government after another has produced its plausible schemes to tackle the problem once and for all, but every one has failed. In November, 1960, Mr. Henry Brooke, who was then Minister of Housing, apparently decided that the problem was not, after all, one of building houses so much as putting baths into the houses which did not have them. Admitting that in England and Wales there were three million houses which were "far from ideal," he announced: "The battle for a bath in every home has begun." But before Mr. Brooke could let off his first cannon he had lost his job as Minister of Housing to Dr. Charles Hill. Dr. Hill had the bright idea of going to have a look at the slums himself, but almost as soon as he had come back he, too, was removed from the job and re-

placed by yet somebody else who was going to clear up the mess—Sir Keith Joseph. Sir Keith also went to visit the slums, and the slums—in the shape of some homeless members of the working class—came to visit him, giving the press some fetching pictures of Sir Keith's wife smiling bravely as she admitted several scruffy children to her posh home. Then the new Minister had an inspiration. *He would speed up slum clearance!* He even went so far as to mention Cable Street, Stepney, as one place which could do with some attention. Everybody was amazed; here was obviously a Minister of Housing who knew a slum when he saw one.

This is typical of the floundering which has accompanied this past century of reform, some of it administered by wordy politicians who have climbed to high office after notching up a dismal record on housing. And what has been the result of it all, up to the present? You can take your pick from the facts and figures which clamour for attention. In 1954 there were officially 850,000 houses in England and Wales which were condemned as unfit; this figure is a wild understatement, because it only took account of the slums which local authorities thought they could clear, instead of those which they thought *should* be cleared. And faster than any slums are pulled down, others take their place. In July last year Dr. Lichfield, an urban economist who had just left the Ministry of Housing, said that over twenty-three per cent. of our houses were built before 1875 and that even if the present rate of



Housing and human problems

ONE morning in the early 1920's, a young mother trudged up the front steps of a town hall in one of the London suburbs. She was confronted at the top by a portly commissioner, pompous in his petty authority, but she pushed angrily past him and found her way to the Mayor's parlour at last. There was certainly no respect for civic dignity about her as she barged through the door and demanded of the official there when he was going to get her and her family somewhere decent to live.

Her husband had been unemployed for two whole years after his return from the slaughter of the Great War, and their marriage was early feeling the strain of trying to live with their young ones in two small rooms. No wonder the poor woman was at her wits end. In desperation, she pleaded—and threatened (she would drown herself and her three children, she said), but it made no difference. The official was not impressed.

You had to have a "regular" job in those days even to get on the Council's waiting list. Eventually they took over the whole of their pokey terraced house, but by then there were three more children, so they were not much better off anyway. The young wife did not solve her housing problem. Like many others, she lived, grew old and died in the same seedy place. And like so many others of her day and since, she never did grasp the real reason for her plight, and for the sordid conditions of her life which threw a barrier between her husband and herself, so that they really hardly knew each other, even after forty years of marriage.

Perhaps you could shrug this story off if it were just an isolated instance, but the sheer human tragedy of the housing problem will just not let you do that. The lives of those affected are soaked in misery and despair in the grim struggle to raise families sometimes under the most appalling conditions. It is hardly surprising that tempers fray, nerves suffer

slum clearance were doubled there would still be a million of them left in 1982.

Capitalist politicians are fond of telling us that the housing problem springs from a physical difficulty of building enough homes for those who want them. It is nothing of the kind. Rich people simply do not have housing difficulties; these are reserved exclusively for the working class, who must budget for their housing, just like the other essentials of living, against a restricted wage packet. And that is something which no reform of capitalism can alter.

It is true that the majority of workers do not live in what are officially classified as slums. Even so, the poverty of their lives is reflected in their homes. We all know what an average three-up-two-down working class house, perhaps the pride of its occupant's life, is like. We know how cramped are the rooms, how the doors don't fit, how the draughts whistle around in the winter, how poor are the materials of which the place is built. Yet officially these people have no housing problem. They are off the list.

The fact is that, however many reforms batter themselves against it, the problem of housing will remain for the working class and all of them will be afflicted by it. As long as capitalism lasts none of them can escape it. After all, the first rule of Snakes and Ladders is that it is a game for any number of players.

IVAN.

thousand urgent cases outstanding. And even if you are lucky enough to be so ill that you are offered a flat, you may find that it is one of the older blocks, without a bathroom or lift, and with a shared W.C. So your troubles are by no means over and you could easily find yourself back on the waiting list before long.

Take a look at some of the other human tragedies of the housing scandal. Understandably, we are so preoccupied with the plight of families and the bad effects on youngsters that we tend to forget the pathetic conditions that many single people have to endure. Young, middle-aged, and old are all afflicted, but perhaps the last group suffer most because of their infirmities and inability to earn a living. Mostly you will find such people in private (as opposed to municipal) dwellings, such as the oldest tenement blocks of East London. The accommodation is generally cheap, which at once tells us a lot about it in terms of dilapidation and sheer misery for the occupants. Try living for twenty years, as one epileptic did, in a room 7 ft. by 6 ft. with plasterless walls and a leaking roof, and you will get our meaning. Often there is very bad overcrowding, and conditions in many of the houses are indescribable.

Struggling along on the very borderline of destitution, there is a loneliness and black despair which many times overtakes these people, and they seldom manage to get clear of their awful predicament. They are generally the ones with whom capitalism can deal particularly harshly, such as widows, divorcees, those in failing health and even mental cases. Their common misery is the product of their common identity as members of the working class.

But there is one other group who have given up the strain of trying even for the meagre respectability of a dingy furn-

ished room. Ironically, in many cases they have lost what accommodation they had as their lodgings were closed to make way for slum clearance. They sleep anywhere they can—odd nooks and crannies, bombed sites and railway stations. During the day they do work of sorts, although clearly they do not earn much at it. For them, the hopelessness of the situation is just something they have accepted in blank apathy and each day of struggle is pretty much the same as the next. Their predicament gives us an insight into the horrible pressures which mount against single people living on their own in a place like London.

Rarely do they appear on the waiting lists of local councils. They probably realise the utter futility of trying this, because the queue is miles long as it is. As one observer has put it, they suddenly find themselves clinging to the very edges of society. Maybe some have been ill for a while, and without friends or relations to help them have found themselves on the streets. Others have drifted from one dingy room to another before succumbing and joining the rest of the destitutes.

Capitalism does things in a big way. It can produce huge quantities of goods and build enormous cities. And just as surely, in its usual contradictory way, the majority of its people have to put up with narrow, drab lives. And for the lonely ones the very bigness of capitalism's towns restrict their chances of ever belonging anywhere. This extremity illustrates perhaps most of all the underlying tragedy of the whole housing problem. To say that it is a problem of working class poverty is indeed a truism which runs like a thread through workers' whole lives. For poverty of ownership in the means of life begets poverty in so many other things—perhaps in human contact and friendship most of all.

E. T. C.

BOOK: *Britain in the Sixties—Housing*, by Stanley Alderson (Penguin Special 3s. 6d.).

THE WHOLE TRAGIC MESS

Let us warn you right away. If you think that Mr. Alderson will provide you with a solution to this most pressing problem you are going to be very disappointed. This is quite a well written book, and informative, particularly when you remember that it spans only 174 pocket size pages. But having acknowledged the enormity of the housing scandal, Mr. Alderson gets bogged down in advocating the usual reformist measures to deal with it.

We are left with the awfully depressing feeling that if every one of his suggestions were put into action tomorrow, the housing problem would be just as bad the day after—and for many more days after that. Like all reformist writers, he cannot see that slums, overcrowding, homelessness—in fact, the whole tragic mess—is only part of a bigger general picture of private property society with its sordid profit motive. The emergence of council housing over the past few years does not invalidate this basic contention. Indeed, it is a clear illustration, if any were needed, of the essential indignity of being a member of the working class. The author gives us a hint of this when he

tells us on page 94:

The difficulty is in becoming a council tenant. The man who set about it efficiently would get an essential job, marry young, father a child a year, find himself a slum flat, share it with another family, and develop chronic ill-health. With all these qualifications, he could even expect to get a house before he was thirty.

Like many other writers on this subject, Mr. Alderson is in favour of "a national policy for housing." He has been groping his way towards it, he tells us in the last chapter; and stripped of verbiage, what is this policy? Why, spend more money on housing, of course. He forgets some of the snags mentioned earlier in the book, all of which arise from the profit motive. For instance, on page 11, we read:

Some of the firms building houses in vast development schemes lose money. . . . Some of the biggest and most efficient firms in the industry refuse to touch housing at all.

And again on page 22:

What do people want? What can they afford? These are the questions that have

to be answered in determining future standards of houses, motor cars, washing powders, or anything else.

So whatever may be planned and intended (and housing is probably the biggest graveyard of scrapped plans that there is) the author admits that we shall get *what we can afford*, and we all know what that means as far as the working class is concerned. Here is the nub of it, the reason for the poor housing standards of the past, present and future, too, why " . . . there are houses being erected now which will give dissatisfaction to their first occupants and in ten years will be regarded as sub-standard." It is the factor which plagues and hampers the slum clearance schemes, for as Mr. Alderson points out, lots of the poorer tenants cannot even afford to pay subsidised council rents. At the same time, "many of the old and decayed dwellings needing to be re-built are in areas where there is little or no profit in rebuilding."

It is no intention of ours to sneer at Mr. Alderson's attempts to grapple with the vast and depressing housing problem. Perhaps it is to his credit that he has at

continued bottom page 82

SPECIAL AREA REPORTS FROM OUR CORRESPONDENTS ON HOUSING AFFAIRS

GLASGOW

SCOTLAND—PROGRESSING BACKWARDS



MOST of the working-class dwellings in Scotland are the product of the rash of building that took place at the beginning of the century. In Glasgow it is the tenement building with its single and two-roomed apartments, usually three-storied, that predominates.

They were built for the influx of workers from Ireland and other parts of Scotland who crowded into Glasgow during the halcyon days of British capitalism when shipbuilding and heavy engineering along the west coast were booming. Such towns as Port Glasgow, Greenock, Paisley, and all the environs of Glasgow were built on the same lines.

In Lanarkshire, at such places as Motherwell and Hamilton, the coalfields attracted workers not only from Scotland and Ireland, but also from such European countries as Poland and the Ukraine. There the houses were built mainly on the classical "miner's row" pattern, rows and rows of depressing squat little buildings, each one a replica of the other. They may have been a different model from the Glasgow tenement, but, in common with them, they were small, overcrowded, cheap, and utterly unsuitable for human habitation.

On the East coast the story was equally miserable. The housing of the working class in Dundee, Kirkcaldy, Leith, and Edinburgh is from the same sorry mould as Glasgow. Indeed, Edinburgh, which has some pretence of being a cultured city (the "Athens of the North" the locals boast) with its festival of arts and drama and its litter boxes with the legend "This city is beautiful, keep it that way," has probably some of the most sordid slums in Europe.

Today, of course, there are changes taking place. A walk through Glasgow's back streets will show that gaps are beginning to appear in the previously unending sides of those asphalt valleys. The local authorities are being forced to demolish some of the worst properties, though sometimes they are saved the task by their helpmates, decay and ill repair. Sometimes the buildings collapse when they are empty, sometimes when still

occupied. In Possilpark, in the north of Glasgow, a whole gable-end of a tenement collapsed in a high wind last January. In Anderston and Gorbals in recent years tenements crumbled away in the night while still occupied. In Balloch, Dumbartonshire, last April, an eleven year old boy was crushed to death when a condemned tenement collapsed on him and his playmates.

Of course, houses are not only falling down, some are being built. But how many? Despite the promises of local governments, the picture is far from rosy; in Glasgow last year there were only 2,000 built, the lowest since 1947. More significant than the paltry number that are going up, is the type of houses that are being built.

In those areas where the houses were of a decent standard, the authorities found that the rents were too high for the majority of workers. Indeed, Mr. D. Gibson, the convenor of the Housing Committee in Glasgow, confessed that they could not send workers from the condemned tenements to such areas as Mossbank because "They were high-minded men who put Mossbank out of the reach of the very men and women who are demanding higher standards, and people in this city in need of housing cannot face up to rents and rates of £130 per year." (*Glasgow Herald*, 19/3/62.)

BOTH SIDES (2)

It's the rats are the worst. They even come out in the daytime when it's dry. I've never left the pram outside my door since one jumped out from under the blanket. (Mrs. Doyle, Liverpool slumdweller — *Observer*, 27.11.60.)

The Duke and Duchess of Norfolk moved from Arundel Castle to their new dower house in Arundel Great Park yesterday. The house has taken over two years to build and has cost £60,000. . . . The Duke and Duchess will hold a "housewarming" party tonight. (*The Guardian*, 7.11.61.)

The same sad story of workers too poor to be able to afford anything approaching decent housing. But for an example of "progress" the next point could hardly be bettered.

"Many years ago Glasgow had taken a resolution never to build again the two-apartment houses which had been such a large part of Scotland's housing problems. Now they were faced with thousands of Glasgow's citizens, the salt of the earth, who wanted to stay in Anderston and Woodside—the places where they had been brought up—in room-and-kitchen houses with an inside toilet. They refused to go to the new housing estates of Castlemilk and Easterhouse, and Glasgow Corporation were now building 10,684 modern houses for two persons. . . . That's progress; that's the criterion of affluence in this affluent society, a room and kitchen with an inside toilet."

But even this modest demand for a new two-room apartment is hardly likely to be met. Mr. Gibson considers it will be necessary to convert the old property in some cases—"Even if they built 100,000 new houses in the next twenty years, they still need to keep standing some 30,000 room-and-kitchen and two-room-and-kitchen houses, but they must be improved. They must have an inside toilet and reasonable washing facilities, even if it was a hot shower instead of a bath. These improvements could be carried out inside the bed recess in the kitchen at an estimated cost of £750 per house which would make them habitable for another 20 years."

What a dilemma! They are building 2,000 a year just now: even if they built 100,000 in 20 years they would still have to convert old property and this would only last another 20 years.

Twist and turn as they may, capitalists' reformers, whether the Labour Party brand like Mr. Gibson, or Tory, Liberal or Communist, are bereft of an answer. Like the system they support, they find in the housing situation that every time they patch up in one place, something falls down in another.

D. DONNELLY.



MIDLANDS AND THE NORTH, SLUMDOM

IF you want a fair idea of the blight inflicted on men's lives by early industrial capitalism, travel through England to the Midlands and the North, and take a good look at the housing there. In this region are the towns which were the classic homes of slumdom, with their mean and narrow streets, row upon huddled row of wretched little back-to-back hovels, where dampness, rat infestation and tuberculosis were rife. Here it was that men, women, and children, lived out their pitifully short and broken lives, slept from sheer exhaustion in the few hours respite from the hell of the mills, mines and factories. The capitalists, the mine and mill owners, the iron masters and others, also had homes near to their property, but not among the slums, of course.

Take a good look we said. No need to hurry about it. Any time in the next twenty, thirty or forty years will do, or even longer. These slums have been there for many many years and if we read the signs aright, will still be there when our grandchildren are growing old. The government, local authorities, and various experts who have written on the subject at least agree on one thing, that the slums in this region are just about the worst in England. It is said that this part of the country plus South Wales, contains more than half the 850,000 houses declared unfit in England and Wales in 1955. Housing Minister Sir Keith Joseph has admitted that the North of England has a far greater concentration of slums than anywhere in London. Dr. Hill, his predecessor, was a bit more specific. A few months earlier, he had pinpointed Liverpool as about the worst case in the country.

Certainly, if we go by the last official figures declared by local authorities and published as a White Paper in 1955, Liverpool does qualify for Dr. Hill's dishonourable distinction. Over 88,000 (about 43 per cent.) of its 204,000 dwellings were then unfit for habitation. Manchester came a very close second with some 68,000 unfit out of 208,000—about 32 per cent. But one thing to remember about these figures, indeed the whole of the 1955 estimates is that they are probably conservative. They were in fact based on what local councils thought they could clear in the next few years, not

what they thought *should* be cleared. In any case, there was not (and still is not) any nationally agreed standards by which obsolescence is judged. It is said that Liverpool went the whole hog and reported all of her known slums whereas some towns did not even bother to make a return to the Minister.

So these estimates have come under fire many times since 1955 and it is generally agreed that they are unrealistic. The true position is probably much worse—perhaps we shall never really know just how bad. Even those incurable optimists and promise breakers, the government of the day, have had to admit that "... in about fifty areas, chiefly in the North and Midlands, the task of slum clearance will be a long job" (White Paper *Housing in England and Wales*, February, 1962). A long job indeed! By the end of 1960, Manchester had managed to clear 7,737 and Liverpool 5,331. Birmingham had cleared 6,950 out of 50,250. At this rate, it will take between 50 and 100 years just to remove the *existing* slums.

But there is another factor—a constantly recurring one—which is like a thorn in the flesh of the town councils of this and every other region. Dilapidation. If it were just a question of pulling down the hovels of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it might be a long job, but with perseverance the end would at

least be in sight eventually, though probably not in our lifetime. But, of course, capitalism simply does not work that way. It makes a mockery of the planners' efforts. As Gavin Lyall pointed out in the *Sunday Times* of 23/4/61:

Slums are not a static thing. Every year, an average of 150,000 houses in the country become 100 years old. Against this, about 60,000 are demolished every year. At the present rate of progress ... there are children not yet born who will be bringing up their own children in some of the houses of the northern cities, which even today are recognised as slums. Of course, the thing to remember is

that it is workers and their families who occupy these grim holes now, and who will do so in the far off future visualised by Mr. Lyall and others. Let Dr. E. Sigsworth, Economic History Lecturer at Leeds University, tell you the reason. Addressing a conference on slum clearance at Bradford this year he said that "most people living in slums could not afford to pay an economic rent, let alone buy a house through a building society" (*Guardian*, 11/3/63). So there it is in a nutshell, and we are back to the problem behind the problem—the sheer inability of some workers to afford anywhere better to live than broken-down hovels.

This unpleasant fact will no doubt have been noted by the various planners and reformers groping for an answer to the muddle, but we can take a bet that its deeper implications will have escaped them. For them it is not just a question of pulling down slums, but their replacement with *low cost* houses for workers to rent. They miss the point that therein lies the foundation of future slumdom, for cutting costs means cutting standards. For example, the average floor area of new three bedroomed council houses in England and Wales declined from 1,050 sq. ft. in 1951 to 901 sq. ft. in 1958. Dr. Sigsworth advocates subsidised local authority housing but clearly this is no answer. Local authority housing has been subsidised to some extent or another for the best part of a century. According to the 1961 interim report of the Rowntree Trust Housing Study, about three million council houses have been built

BOTH SIDES (3)

Now they are seeking a house so desperately that they are prepared to offer their youngest child, nine-month-old Andrew, in exchange. He and the other children ... have been in the care of Staffordshire County Council for the past 10 months. ... (Andrew's mother) said today: "You have to be pretty desperate to offer your child for a house." (*Observer*, 11.12.60.)

He (Lord Snowdon) was very keen to tell me about the new house that people have been making such a fuss about. He told me he would be just as satisfied with a small cottage. (The Lord Mayor of Nottingham, talking about Princess Margaret's home in Kensington Palace, *The Guardian*, 20.6.62.)

since the first world war, "with the aid of subsidies and sixty-year loans." But the housing problem weighs as oppressively as ever.

An indication of the obsession with costs which affects building just like any other industry under capitalism, can be gained from the recent report that Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham are negotiating to form a consortium to make possible the mass production of building materials, the standardisation of fittings and equipment, and *cheaper bulk buying* (our italics).

One of the reasons that "overspill" development is preferred to high density town building is because the cost to the

government is very much less. J. B. Cullingworth estimated in 1960 that the subsidy cost of 500,000 high flats on a central site would be about £34 millions a year compared with £12 millions for the same number of dwellings in a new or expanded town (*Housing Needs and Planning Policy*, p. 173).

So the more we look at the problem of the Midlands and the North, the more we see that it is really the same problem as elsewhere, only more acute. The older industrial areas of this region are the worst off and even the most optimistic forecaster dares not hope for an improvement in his lifetime. There are the added complication of industrial decline, the

slow but stubborn growth of unemployment, and the subsequent drift of population southwards in search of work.

It is in fact a familiar story of capitalism. There will be a familiar ring too, about the news that houses were much more difficult to sell in 1962 than for some years past, despite a freer supply of mortgages and average prices in the North being only about half those in London. This was certainly not because people's housing needs were met—we know that is not true. But then capitalism does not exist for such purpose anyway. Its prime aim is the satisfaction of a market, whether in housing or anything else.

E. T. C.



WALES—THE LEASEHOLD RACKET

EVERY time the Minister of Housing visits South Wales he is met with demonstrators demanding reform of the leasehold system. All the capitalist parties in Wales have this reform, in one form or another, in their programme. This article looks at the situation from the Socialist point of view.

When it is said that housing shortages are caused by the sudden flow of people into the big towns it is not always remembered that the other side of this coin is rural depopulation. Traditionally Wales has been one of the areas from which people have moved to the cities of England, particularly Liverpool, Birmingham and London. It has, therefore, suffered from falling, as opposed to rising, land values and all that this means. Today this is no longer really a problem in South Wales, though it persists in the North and other rural areas.

But the aspect of housing which is causing the most anxiety at the moment is the prevalence of leasehold. There has been talk of finance corporations holding South Wales in an "octopus grip." Nine-tenths of the area is supposed to belong to the big estates which were once the property of Tory landowning families, many of whom have now been replaced by capitalists interested in landowning solely as a business.

When urban development began in earnest in South Wales in the second half of the nineteenth century the principle of the 99 year lease was widely applied and now the effects are being felt. In addition there is at present a shortage of freehold land which is the result of the flow of industry and workers into the area since the war. The increased demand for

"property" which this has caused has aggravated the problem by raising land values. When a leaseholder sees that his lease has only twenty to thirty years to run he begins to think about renewing it. The landlord knowing that there is a shortage of freehold land is able to demand what seems to the leaseholder a fantastic price for the freehold or a new lease. Thus the approaching end of many 99 year leases and the present shortage of freehold land has brought the problem of leasehold in South Wales to a head.

Some people object to leasehold on what they call principle. For the landlord lets the land and the lessee undertakes to erect a building on it, but at the end of the lease the land and the building revert to the landlord. At the turn of the century some of the more "radical" Liberals saw this as a gross injustice and as another example of the rapacity of landlords. As a solution they suggested leasehold enfranchisement which basically means that the tenant is given the right to buy out compulsorily the landlord. Significantly enough, in that it bears out our contention that the Labour Party is the political heir of some elements in the old Liberal Party (this is particularly evident in non-conformist Wales), the Labour Party is pledged to this policy of leasehold enfranchisement. And, of course, wherever there's a petty reform to support we find the Communist Party—in Wales it has made itself conspicuous in the campaign against leasehold.

We must, however, see this problem in perspective. The usual leasehold arrangement is for the landlord to let the

land to a speculative builder who erects houses on it for a profit. Two-thirds of leasehold property in South Wales is not occupied by the ground lessee but by tenants paying an ordinary house-rent. The Labour Party recognises this when it says it only wants enfranchisement for owner-occupiers. Although for historical reasons there is probably a higher proportion of homeowners in Wales than in most parts of Britain this question of leasehold is of little importance: its abolition would be at best another minor reform of capitalism.

Quite understandably people are upset when they are faced with the choice of quitting the house they have come to regard as their own or of paying an impossible price for the freehold. But this is capitalism. It brings insecurity to all workers, including those who happen to think they own their own homes. The whole problem shows that the homeowner is no more secure than the tenant and for the same reason—the poverty which capitalism brings to all its workers.

Labour M.P. George Thomas has said of the finance corporations: "They are cashing in on the labour of our community and stealing the reward of our labour." They are, he said, "social parasites." True enough, landowners are parasites. It is plain to all that they receive an income solely because they happen to own a certain part of the globe. They are among those who "possess but do not produce." But why stop here? These capitalists whose business is landowning are only a small section of the capitalist class. The rest, too, are social parasites.

A. L. B.

LONDON



ITS THE SAME IN THE SPRAWL

to many a Cockney, London is known, in mixed derision and affection, as the Smoke. It might also be called, less affectionately, the Sprawl. From Hounslow in the West to Enfield in the North, Erith in the East and Epsom in the South, London spreads itself on the map of Southern England. It leap-frogs even beyond these points, into places which were not so long ago the countryside and a hiker's day out. In the Chiltern Hills, for example, the landscape is altering beyond recognition as the trees come down and the houses of the post-war Metro-landers go up in their place.

In this Sprawl live all manner of workers, from the lowest of down-and-outs to white collar men who manage ulcers along with their expense accounts. Here, therefore, are all manner of working class problems, including that of housing.

London has its families whose housing difficulties could not be starker. They are the homeless ones. Usually unskilled, low-paid workers, they often have to start their married lives in the most dubious of lodgings, from which they are easily evicted. Then the problem snowballs, until their family may be forced to split up, with the children going into a Home or being taken by the mother to a local authority hostel while the father rubs along outside. The London County Council runs some of these hostels and they are not inviting places. During the past year the number of families in them reached a record peak; in November, 1962, it stood at 1,008. Since then it has fallen; last month it was just over 800, representing about 3,800 persons. But these figures in fact disguise the real size of the problem, which would be more accurately reflected in the turnover of families in the hostels as opposed to the number in them at any one time. A recent Family Service Unit survey into the housing prospects of low-paid workers was summed up in this way by *The Guardian* on February 14th last: "In all London there is virtually no accommodation for a family of limited means."

One step—but often only a short one—up from the homeless, are those who live in London's rented homes. Some of these homes are the famous London

slums, which characterise areas like Stepney and Brixton and North Kensington. Some others are in more pretentious areas—South Kensington for example—which do not like to think of themselves as part of slumdom. But no other word so aptly fits the piled up, dingy acres of bed-sitters and what are euphemistically termed flatlets. London is full of this sort of place. The 1961 Census showed that a quarter of all households in the County of London occupied one or two rooms and that a half of them occupied three or four rooms.

The Census also revealed something about the condition of the County of London's homes. Over 400,000 are without exclusive access to a hot water tap and over 300,000 are without a bath. It does not take a very powerful imagination to picture what these hundreds of thousands of homes in the centre of the

"affluent" South are like.

But the Sprawl is also, of course, the great exponent of the cult of suburbia, where they usually have a bathroom (even if it is a small one) and a hot water tap (even if they have to watch the cost of running it too often). Suburbia, where many workers are proudly buying their houses, is not usually associated with the housing problem. Who can think of slums, standing in Acacia Crescent, with the blossom out on the trees and neat hedges and roses as far as the eye can see?

Yet behind the clematis covered walls the housing problem sits as immovably as it does in Poplar or Deptford. Many workers now buy their houses because that is literally the only way they can get one. And when they have signed the contract for the sale they have committed themselves to a lifetime of paying off a massive loan, sometimes at a crippling rate of interest. This commitment forces them to depend even more than usual upon keeping their job. The suburban mortgagee knows what worry is; the suburbs, in fact, are centres of stress and strain which can almost be sensed behind the pretty curtains. Mortgagees usually have to sign a deed which is full of all sorts of restrictions, designed to keep up the value of the house so that, if they cannot keep up the payments and the property has to be sold the mortgagor stands to lose as little as possible. Living in this sort of home means that the worker has a bathroom and a garden and perhaps one or two other amenities which are pleasant enough in their way. But he has not lost his housing problem.

The thing which is common to all those who struggle in the housing difficulties of London, and elsewhere, is that they get their living by going out to work. This means that everything they need to live—their clothes, their food, their recreation, their homes—is tailored to take account of the limitations of their wage packets. This is what we call poverty and it is what all workers in London, and the rest of the world, have in common. It afflicts the homeless worker and it sits on the shoulder of him who smugly clips his privet in the suburbs.

IVAN.

BOTH SIDES (4)

"... a man in poor health who, with his wife and three young children, had for some time been living in one room. They had been living on National Assistance for more than a year, and after trouble with the landlord had to leave their room. The children had been taken into care because in the only alternative accommodation the couple could find, children were not wanted." (From a Family Service Unit survey, *The Guardian*, 14.2.63.)

After weeks of house-hunting, Princess Alexandra and Mr. Angus Ogilvy, who marry on April 24th, have found a home.

It is Thatched House Lodge, Richmond Park, a house chiefly of the early Georgian period, standing in 2,200 acres of royal parklands and deer forest. It is on high ground with fine southern views over Petersham and Richmond. The house has twelve bedrooms, six bathrooms, six reception rooms, two cottages, a passenger lift, a squash court, a heated swimming pool, and stable block of five loose boxes. (*Evening Standard*, 12.3.63.)

TORONTO, ONT.



CANADA—THE SAME STORY

THERE is no shortage of housing in Toronto. There are apartment blocks in abundance, sub-divisions in profusion, and gimmicks to induce the unwary signing of leases. The radio roars the advantages of "graceful living" in this area and the beauties of countryside combined with easy transportation to downtown Toronto, with a dash thrown in from the real estate agents to sell "your home" through them, fast... fast... fast...

Truly a paradise—empty houses, flats and apartments. Unbelievable to the British worker. True, nevertheless. Just listen, inspect and you are "sold." Then comes the snag. How much can you afford for a down payment? There is now a housing problem in Toronto... or is it a poverty problem? If you haven't got the cash then you can't sign the lease, purchase the house on a heavy mortgage, or take that wonderful trip to New York which was promised to you, just for signing on the dotted line.

Yet the large sub-divisions on the outskirts of Toronto which have been developed could be a foretaste of what housing could be like under Socialism when the profit motive has been removed. The houses are designed to suit the needs of families, whether large or small, and are fitted with all the necessary up-to-date equipment, such as refrigerators, stoves, dishwashers, washing machines and dryers. There are several architectural plans to choose from. Each tastefully designed house has a garage, a basement recreation room and is fronted by a large lawn. Within a short distance are the shopping plazas and supermarkets.

Owning their houses is an ambition of many workers, but many of those who through a lifetime of sacrifice attempt to accomplish this, find that when their mortgage is due for maturity there is a lump sum payment or a bonus to pay. They failed to read the small print in the contract and could not afford to employ a lawyer. Often they are forced to sell quickly at a loss before the mortgagor forecloses. Or a fresh mortgage can be obtained at considerably more than was originally owing. This bonus system sometimes prevents the worker ever being able to pay off the mortgage and he never "owns" his house. The mortgage set-up

in Canada is big business and sometimes a worker who proudly persuades himself that he owns his house after making the down payment, loses his life savings. Legally, of course. Forty-nine per cent. of all mortgages in Canada are owned by lawyers.

In the downtown area called Cabbage Town are concentrated the slums of Toronto, although they also exist in other parts of the city. Here one sees the hovels that pass for human habitation, hovels without adequate heat, light or air, fetid, stinking and disease-creating.



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Houses that are terraced, without inside toilets, and with an outside toilet sometimes serving as many as a dozen houses. Houses that are tumbling down, with paper hanging off the walls, broken steps, crumbling walls, and some rat and termite infested. Hovels that are rented to the most depressed section of the working class, those on relief and those who are unemployed. Landlords are unwilling to repair even if repair would help the condition at all, but in most cases they are beyond any patching up. Exorbitant rents are charged; each time an increase in "welfare" payments is received, the landlord puts up the rent.

In Metropolitan Toronto in the year 1961 there were seven evictions taking place daily. Families are split up, children put into the care of the Children's Aid Society, and mothers at their wits end what to do.

In Northern Ontario on the Indian Reservation at Red Lake (and other reservations, too) the housing conditions of the Indians are positively unbelievable. There are wooden shacks with a floor area of 18 ft. by 22 ft. housing as many as twenty-two human beings for eating, sleeping and living. Wood stoves heat the hovels, and wretched rags are used for covers. Sometimes these people have only the clothes in which they stand and hunger and starvation are permanent features of their miserable existence. The Indian's income is approximately £49 a year to keep alive on, plus whatever can be obtained from trapping, which is generally very little.

In the rare instance where an Indian has been able to obtain a job for any period, he is not usually any better off, because he shares whatever he possesses with any or all of his tribe who are in greater need than he. Consequently, when he gets a little better house to live in, he is willing to, and does, share it with others of his tribe. The result is overcrowding.

All this exists in a country where an old-fashioned but structurally sound and perfectly usable City Hall is to be pulled down and a new stream-lined one built at a cost of approximately \$27 million. Is any comment needed?

S. & G. C.

THE PASSING SHOW



Property-owning democracy

We are always being told that more and more people are owning their own houses. This, we are assured, is a great step forward. We are now on the way towards a "property-owning democracy"—the Conservative Party takes great pride in the phrase.

To begin with, these houses which some workers are now coming to own are in fact usually owned not by the occupiers but by the building societies or the local councils, or whoever else advanced the money for the purchase. A worker who undertakes the ownership of a house which has had to be mortgaged to the hilt to make the purchase possible is simply adding yet another monthly repayment to those he is already probably making on his furniture, his car, perhaps even on his clothes and his holidays. Besides the mortgage repayments, he has to face the steeply-rising demands for rates from his council; and, unless he is going to allow the place to fall down round his ears, he has to foot the repair and redecoration bills, or give up his spare time to doing it himself—first buying the necessary paint and materials.

Leaving aside the question of the deposit which has to be found at the very outset, and adding up only the mortgage repayments, the rates and the repairs, a worker who embarks on house-ownership is likely to find his outgoings much higher than his old rent. If rates continue to soar as they have been doing, some house-buying workers fear that the rates and repairs alone will soon take nearly the same proportion of their income as the rent would have taken before the war.

The hard sell

Apart from these factors, the vote-catching phrase "property-owning democracy" is very misleading. It seems to have been dreamed up by the publicity departments and advertising agents who now advise the big political parties on their "image" and their approach to the electors: as if the all-too-serious questions of the future of mankind were on a par with marketing a new brand of detergent or smell-remover. The phrase appears intended to counter the critics of capitalism who say that (despite our regu-

lar phantom "social revolutions") the ownership of property is just as firmly in the hands of a small ruling class as it ever was—if anything, indeed, it appears to be becoming more concentrated still.

The figures have not been at all affected by the undoubted fact that more people are having to buy their houses in order to keep a roof over their heads. And this is not surprising when one reflects that the property which the ruling class has in its grip comes mainly under the heading of "capital goods"—land, factories, dockyards, and so on: for it is the possessors of this kind of property who own also the results of production in the factories and mines, and who then sell the products to realize their surplus value.

Landlord democracy?

Now houses, in the context of the phrase "property-owning democracy," are not capital goods at all. For those who talk about "property-owning democracy" encourage us to look forward to the days when every worker will own his own house. And if everyone owns his own house, there will be no one else to rent houses to. Of course, houses which are rented out to other people are the kind of property which, like factories and offices, brings in an income without work to the lucky owners. But the Tories, when they brought out this idea, can scarcely have meant us to look forward to an extension of house-ownership in this sense: otherwise "landlord democracy" would have been a more appropriate phrase. No: they simply meant that more people would own the houses they live in.

Potatoes

But in this sense, houses are merely consumer goods. It is quite true that the worker has property in his own consumer goods. It is quite true that he owns the pound of potatoes he gets at the greengrocer's until he has boiled and eaten them, and that he owns the coat on his back until it goes to rags. In the same way, if he buys the house he lives in, he will own that too until it is pulled down under some future slum-clearance

scheme. But, as we said earlier, if the "property-owning democracy" theory becomes practice, and everyone owns his own house, then the house-owner will have no one else to rent his house to—even if he wished to do so. His house will be merely part of his consumer goods.

Docile

Who would get the advantage of such a scheme? The capitalists or the workers?

To take employers of labour first: there could certainly be advantages for some of them. For the workers would be much less mobile. If a wage-increase was refused (in time of boom) or if wages were cut (in time of slump), the worker who only rented his house might well hand in his notice and go to a better-paid job in another district if he heard of one. But a house-owning worker would not be able to move half so quickly. He would have to put his house up for sale, and wait till a buyer came along; then he would have to find a new house in the new district. He would have to pay the solicitors' fees and the estate agents' fees on the sale of his old house, and the solicitors' fees and the stamp duty on the purchase of his new one. Besides that, unless he had completed his repayments, there would be the trouble and expense of paying off one mortgage and taking out another. His removal would be a much more expensive undertaking, and he might well accept a lower wage than his house-renting fellow-worker, rather than go to all the trouble—in time and money—of selling his house and buying another. House-owning, in short, might well tend to make the worker more docile in his dealings with his employer.

Idyllic picture. . .

What would be the advantages to the worker?

Let us put the case at its highest. Let us assume that, unlike most politicians' plans, this one comes into full operation. Every worker in the country will own his own house: let us assume that there are

no rates to pay, no repairs or redecoration bills. Every worker has his own dwelling, free from rent, rates, or any expense whatever. What then?

It seems harsh to shatter what must seem, to some workers, an idyllic picture. But it must be done. For this "property-owning democracy," within capitalist society, would bring no benefit to the workers whatever.

. . . and the reality

This is why. Wages are the cost of producing and reproducing the labour-power which the capitalist must have to keep his mines and factories turning out goods for sale. And in wages, the rent the worker must pay—or his housing expenses of mortgage repayments, rates and repairs—forms an important item. This is recognized perfectly clearly by all the large political parties. When, in the last war, the ruling class felt that its very existence was at stake, and wage-increases had to be avoided at all costs, then rents

were among the first-controlled, and among the most strictly-controlled, of all workers' expenses. This strict rent-control was introduced by the Coalition Government, supported by the Conservative, Liberal and Labour Parties. For they knew that if rents went up, there would be such industrial unrest—strikes, go-slows, and so on—that wages would have to go up proportionately to cover the increases. Alternatively, if rents could be kept down, then wages could be kept down as well.

Workers' wages have to cover their expenses of food, clothing, housing, and so on. And if every worker in the country owned his own house, and either had to pay nothing for his housing, or less than his present rent, then the "housing element" in his wages would be correspondingly reduced or eliminated entirely.

Inescapable

It is easy to say that if there was no rent to pay, the workers' standard of liv-

ing would be higher, and that he could enforce this higher standard by industrial action. But if the workers can obtain a higher standard of living simply by deciding to have it, and by resolving to support their demands by industrial action—well, in that case, they could have it straight away simply by striking for higher pay, without going to the trouble of buying houses. In fact, whether they pay rent or not, the workers will be in exactly the same position as before: their wages will be enough to cover on the average their necessary living expenses. By exceptional militancy, they might get the wage-level somewhat above this standard; by exceptional lack of militancy, the wage-level might fall somewhat below it. But, taking the whole of the working class together, that is what the wage-level is. And the workers will not avoid that inescapable fact of life under capitalism by running after the latest reformist slogan.

In fact, the "property-owning democracy" is like all other reforms: the more capitalism is "changed," the more it remains the same.

ALWYN EDGAR.

THE NEWS IN REVIEW



Beeching's rail cuts

Doctor Beeching's casualty list was as long as anyone could have expected.

Nearly a third of the passenger routes miles to be withdrawn; almost a half of the stations to be shut down; seventy thousand railwaymen, by one means or another, to be got rid of.

The Tories have always claimed that they are the party of free competition, which is supposed to be something which will bring enormous benefits to us all. According to Conservative propagandists, the worst thing that can happen to us is to be left at the mercy of a monopoly, which will do dreadful things to our standards of living. Yet the Beeching Plan will give, over large areas of the country, a transport monopoly to the road interests. What if these interests act as the Tories have assured us monopolies always act?

This is not the only example of how flexible is the Tories' regard for their own consistency. At one time the British capitalist class, with the support of the Labour and Conservative Parties, thought

that nationalisation of certain industries was in their own overall interests and was, therefore, inevitable, desirable and morally sound.

But since 1945 the capitalist class have been taking a second look at State control. Slowly but definitely they have changed the internal structure of some of the State industries; nowhere is this so apparent as on the railways.

Which brings us to the question of whether nationalisation, apart from being a fraud upon the working class, has also disappointed the capitalists?

The Beeching Plan seems to be going out for an immediate profit from the railways, without providing the kind of facilities which the capitalist class as a whole must require from a railway system. That was exactly what nationalisation was supposed to avoid.

There will probably be a big row over the Beeching report, with both sides representing their case as the one which has everyone's interests at heart. And inevitably the working class will be wast-

ing their time in another fruitless controversy while the real problem—the private ownership of society's means of life—is left to do its worst.

Minister's morals

Macmillan's government, perhaps on its death bed, continues to provide the popular press with some juicy front page copy.

The Vassall case, as far as the TWTWTW set is concerned, is still going strong. Jokes about the Admiralty are still sound social currency.

The case of the junior minister who lent his car to a delinquent youth was deprived of its news value just in time by the minister's quick resignation.

And on top of all this, the missing model—missing, at any rate, until the

press ran her to ground in Spain. (*The Guardian* reported her discovery with a sober couple of inches; *The Daily Express* with a giant, predictably leggy picture of her.)

The ministers' denials that they were engaged in what are coyly known as "improper" relationships in any of these cases, are convincing enough. Yet however subtly it has been done, mud has been thrown; the kind of mud that sticks.

A capitalist government can do all manner of unpleasant things to the working class who put it in power. It can break strikes. It can try to hold down wages. It can take the working class into a war which they know a lot of them will not survive. The working class do not seem to object to this kind of treatment sufficiently to turn the government out.

But a government cannot for long get away with anything which smells of corruption or sexual licence. Perhaps the working class, whose teeth are cut on capitalism's morals, feel that their leaders should themselves be beyond reproach. And perhaps there is an element of envy, at the easy, glamorous lives of rich men and powerful politicians, contrasted to the drab existence of most workers.

In fact, the personal morals of members of a government are quite unimportant. There is no evidence that impeccable family men administer capitalism any more humanely than those whose private life is rather more complicated.

While workers click their tongues over the front page stories, capitalist society—the real scandal—quietly continues.

The budget

The theme of this year's Budget, claimed the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was expansion. Cheers, it seemed, all round. They are all Keynesians now and therefore believe that reducing taxes and increasing government spending will actually stimulate an industrial revival.

If this were so, then capitalism would have solved one of its big problems. There would never be any more recessions; no industry need ever collapse again.

But facts say, quite plainly, that economic setbacks are as much a part of capitalism as ever. In fact, the Chancellor's financial juggling, far from preceding and guiding economic trends, is the result of those trends and trails some way after them. Maudling's tax cuts, for example, were widely forecast to happen in some shape or form, because the economic and political situation indicated that the time was ripe for them.

In any case there is nothing new about "expansion" Budgets. Butler introduced one in 1953. So did Amory in 1959. A short time after these Budgets, both Chancellors forgot that they had been telling us that the way to prosperity was to expand by cutting taxes and increasing spending. The government brought in other measures which increased taxes and reduced spending. There is no reason to assume that Maudling's optimism will not be similarly forgotten.

This is the economic switchback of capitalism, which Budgets and the other measures try to control.

They never succeed; the problems of capitalism live on, long after the Chancellors who try to solve them are forgotten. As each Budget Day draws near, the Chancellor is swamped with advice from all manner of reformist organisations. Some of these have recently come to the conclusion that the financial affairs of British capitalism are exceptionally complicated and need an enormous administrative effort to keep them going.

In *The Guardian* on April 2nd, Christopher Layton was hoping:

Will tomorrow's Budget be a milk and water affair, or will it at last demonstrate that the Government is seeking to get to the roots of the country's economic sickness?

And his question was partly answered by Samuel Brittan in *The Observer* on April 7th:

... Mr. Maudling will need luck as well as skill if the gamble is to come off. and

Unfortunately the international financial system is full of weaknesses; the U.S. economy lost its zip several years ago and the European boom looks very old and tired. It is on these world uncertainties that we must keep our fingers crossed. . . .

Budgets, just like the rest of capitalism's efforts to control its own anarchies, are a gamble. Maudling's may be designed to allow Britain's ruling class to breathe more freely, but it is just as likely to fail in this as its predecessors.

Typhoid in Zermatt

One by one, some ugly facts have trickled out about the typhoid outbreak in Zermatt.

At first it may have seemed like a simple case of bad luck, the sort that could happen anywhere, any time.

Then an article in the Swiss paper *Gazette de Lausanne* suggested that the

first case of the disease was diagnosed last September, that the village's water supply had a doubtful origin and was not properly cleansed. A couple of letters in *The Guardian* of April 1st, written by people who had recently returned from Zermatt, offered additional evidence that all has not been well in the Swiss resort for several months. The lid was really blown off by a merciless TV programme. Later in the year, we shall probably know the full facts and it will not be a pleasant story.

In the height of the holiday season the population of Zermatt usually rose from its permanent 2,000 to about 15,000. Its prices were high, its hoteliers thriving. To keep up its attraction for winter sports enthusiasts, Zermatt installed a lot of machinery to take the visitors up to the top of the snow slopes. But behind this facade, it seems, the resort was neglecting essentials like a pure water supply.

Its own water resources were not sufficient to cater for the influx of holiday-makers and so Zermatt has been tapping other, more risky, sources. Some of these were damaged by severe frost and that, possibly, is where the disease started.

In other words, Zermatt preferred to concentrate upon the gimmicks which it knew would bring in a quick profit and to take a chance on the safety of its public health facilities. Capitalism in general has come to realise that this is a short-sighted policy which can lead to serious loss of profits in the long run.

This is how it has worked for Zermatt. The typhoid outbreak has ruined the image of Switzerland as a hygienic country of sun and snow and healthy holidays.

And it has brought the unfortunate typhoid sufferers face to face with a principle which capitalism, in one way or another, always applies; profit first, the rest a long way after.

Nicky

Who's Nicky?

You mean *what's* Nicky. It's the National Incomes Commission.

Who commissioned it?

It was set up by the government.

What for?

To consider wage settlements which the government thinks are too generous to the workers.

Has it got a chairman?

Yes.

Paid?

Yes.

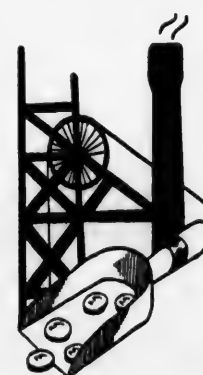
How much?

Er—£12,500 a year.

But...

No more questions, please.

FINANCE AND INDUSTRY



HOUSING

The misleading mortgage

A lot of fuss has been generated about the LCC's proposal to grant 100 per cent. mortgages. We really don't know why. The people who could hardly wait to join the queues outside London's County Hall are likely to find they are possessed of more hope than hard cash—and it is hard cash that will still be needed under this new scheme.

In the first place, the 100 per cent. mortgage is not to be related to the asking prices of enthusiastic estate agents, but to the LCC's own, more realistic, valuations. This will mean in many cases that the prospective buyer will still need to find a fair amount of ready cash to bridge the gap. And he will still have to find the wherewithal to pay his legal expenses and other costs.

So far the LCC have allocated about £2½ million to meet the cost of the scheme. This is sufficient to satisfy only a thousand applicants for houses costing about £2,750, and nobody can say he is going to get anything wonderful for this sum these days. The Council may increase the allocation in due course, but it is already obvious that whatever sum is finally allowed it will be no more than a drop in the bucket in the present housing situation.

There has been talk that pressure may additionally be brought to bear on the building societies to follow the LCC lead. If so, this is hardly likely to get very far. Building societies are of all capitalist financial institutions probably the most reluctant to stray from the safe and steady road of profitable investment. Not too much profit—but not too much worry—is their policy.

In short, we have an idea that the overwhelming majority of house-hungry members of the working class are going to find the LCC scheme yet another of capitalism's disappointments, all the harder to bear because of the high hopes it has raised.

COMMERCE

Tourism and typhoid

The recent outbreak of typhoid fever in Zermatt has caused the deaths of several innocent tourists and the illness of many others. It has given the Swiss tourist industry a severe knock, and Zermatt itself will take years to recover as a popular holiday resort. In the meantime, its hoteliers and shopkeepers are going to have a very hard time of it financially and there are not many outsiders, judging the facts of the case, who would not say that it serves them damned well right.

Zermatt was an expanding resort, a boom town of the Swiss tourist industry. Every year the influx of tourists grew bigger, the hotels more plentiful, the profits more encouraging, and the water supplies more precarious. But the water supplies could wait; in any case they were expensive and expense was begrudged. The main thing was to build, build, build; attract more and more visitors; make more and more profit. Even when the dreadful fact became known that the water was contaminated with one of the most dangerous diseases known to man, nothing was done about it. Tourists still continued to be attracted to the town. The germs continued to spread until one day Zermatt woke to find it had encouraged an epidemic.

This sort of thing happens all the time under capitalism, but only now and again do events really catch up with the perpetrators—a cable break, an aeroplane with a defect, an over-congested aerodrome, a collapse of a jerry-built house, an accumulation of a lethal pesticide, a "wonder drug" that does not cure but kills, the drinking water of a boom town that contains typhoid.

Only when these dreadful events occur do we realise just how revolting, how utterly pernicious in its effects upon human beings, is the capitalist profit motive. The Zermatt case reveals this in all its baseness. It was the sordid lust for profit, and nothing else, that caused the deaths and illness of those trusting but unfortunate tourists.

The WESTERN SOCIALIST

Journal for Socialism
in the
U.S.A and Canada

6d monthly

STEEL

Together again

When the Allies got to work on German industry after the war, they made a brave show of doing something about the Krupps, the Thyssens, and the other steel barons. Their huge empires were broken up as "politically dangerous concentrations of economic power"; never again were they to come together to help threaten the peace of Europe.

Alas, as usual, capitalism quickly disposes of such naive intentions. The news is announced that Thyssens and Phoenix Rheinrohr are to come together again, just as they did in 1926 when they formed themselves into Vereinigte Stahlwerke.

The new merger will result in a firm employing 80,000 workers and selling £400 million of steel and steel products a year, the biggest turnover of all West German industry except Volkswagen. It will become the biggest single steel producer in Europe and a formidable competitor for the others.

Yet another example of the intrinsic drive for capitalism's units to get bigger and bigger—and in spite of difficulties deliberately put in the way.

MOTORS

Ford prunes its plants

As firms get bigger and bigger, so do the smaller ones go to the wall. This also applies to movements within the firm itself.

The new assembly plant being rapidly developed at Liverpool, plus the existing factory at Dagenham, gives Ford's two modern large-scale car-producing units. They also have a plant at Doncaster, which they got when they acquired Briggs Motor Bodies.

This factory has been quite happy to produce about 75,000 cars a year. But 75,000 is nothing in the car industry nowadays and so Doncaster will have to go. About 2,600 workers will be affected and will either have to take work at Liverpool or Dagenham, or take a chance at getting a job locally. This won't be easy because Doncaster is also a rail town and is already beginning to feel the edge of the Beeching axe.

That's another thing that happens in these mergers and "rationalisations." They bring economies in workers as well. It's an essential part of the whole idea, of course.

S. H.



From the SOCIALIST STANDARD,
May 1913

PROFITS BEFORE LIFE

"The profits will not allow it."

Rarely has the plain, tragic truth been so bluntly stated by a capitalist as on April 28th in the Westminster Coroner's Court.

The Coroner was holding an inquiry into the "accident" that took place upon a building in course of erection in High Holborn.

Two and a half tons of iron was being hoisted by a crane "made to take three tons." "Everything was brand new."

Henry James Matthews a lad of 18, acting as a crane signalman, was killed as the result of the chain of the crane breaking.

After the poor lad's brother had given evidence, the Coroner called a member of the firm that made the chain.

After great difficulty the Coroner got the makers to give evidence. The secretary of the company that supplied it offered the Coroner some certificates, but said that he knew nothing about the chain itself.

The Coroner was forced to remark that "it seems a very casual way of doing things when a man's life is at stake."

Finally a member of the manufacturing firm told the Coroner that he had been asked to attend "to listen to the evidence." He was asked by the Coroner: "After testing do you go over the chain to see if there are any cracks?"

The answer was a remarkable indictment of this cursed system of society, for he said: "NO. THE PROFITS WILL NOT ALLOW OF IT!"

"I am not talking about profits," retorted the Coroner, "I am talking about the safety of human life."

After some further questions the Coroner was led to say: "You are perfectly well aware of what you are talking about. It is no use trying to befool me. You are trying to ride round the subject."

A link of the chain was handed to the witness and he was asked why, although the link had snapped, it showed no signs of fracture. All he could say to the point was: "It shows no signs of fracture."

The Coroner said that "looking at the surface of the link you can see it is not a fracture, and that the metal had never been properly welded."

Frederick John Parkes, Factory Inspector, said that the quality of the workmanship of the link was very bad indeed and that the metal was defective. It had not been properly welded.

Even the representative of the building company had to confess that he "found the rest of the chain not perfect."

Wednesday 1st May Branch
News

MAY DAY RALLY 7.30 pm CAXTON HALL

WESTMINSTER, SW1

"World Without War"

Speakers

H. Baldwin, R. O. Critchfield

Sunday 5th May 3 pm

RALLY HYDE PARK

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays

Hyde Park, 3 pm

East Street

May 5th & 26th (noon)

May 12th (11 am)

May 19th (1 pm)

Mondays

Lincolns Inn Fields, 1-2 pm

Thursdays

Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm

Earls Court, 8 pm

Hyde Park 8-30 pm

Saturdays

Rushcroft Road, 8 pm

continued from page 72)

least taken a look at it, for all too often it fosters an attitude of apathy and hopelessness. But when this has been said, there is nothing in his book to shake our conviction that bad housing is a product of private property society. The solution is not to tinker around with Schedule "A" tax reform and extensions of state power, but to institute a world of common ownership and production of goods for use. Houses will then be lived in not just out of necessity, but because they are worth living in, too.

E. T. C.

The Annual Conference is over and now is the time when outdoor propaganda really starts, and what better aid for success in this field is to have available a big and well-produced SOCIALIST STANDARD to help spread the word of Socialism. This May issue has been prepared with this end in view and if everyone who normally takes one or two copies each month, at least doubled that quantity we should have sold the whole issue. A well worth achievement!

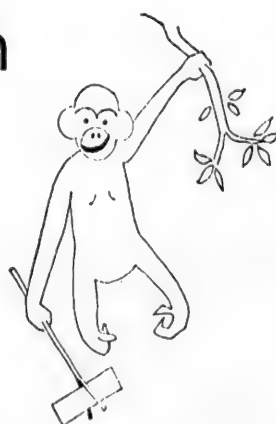
Glasgow Branch is contesting the Municipal Election in Woodside during May and the Branch members with their usual enthusiasm have been busy canvassing and holding many indoor and outdoor meetings. It is hoped that this issue of the STANDARD will help them in their task.

The Mid-Herts Group founded last year has been holding meetings at intervals in homes of members. A regular meeting place has been obtained and a programme of lectures and discussions is planned. This summer, some members of the Group intend to help Paddington Branch in the running of outdoor meetings at Stevenage. An "Any Questions" meeting was held by the Group at Welwyn on April 3rd. This was well attended and very successful. Good literature sales and collection resulted.

The third meeting of the three-branch effort (Paddington, Bloomsbury and Ealing) takes place at the small Conway Hall, Red Lion Square on Monday, May 13th at 7.30. There is ample room and again the meeting will be Any Questions. It is hoped that refreshments will be available. Bloomsbury Branch is organising this meeting.

Please note the May Day meetings (on May 1st and May 5th), good support by members will mean good meetings. Members please co-operate and support the speakers.

The severe winter curtailed Wembley Branch SOCIALIST STANDARD canvassing efforts, but with the better weather, the recent sluggishness and inertia have given way to renewed activity. The May SOCIALIST STANDARD will have special attention, and several evening canvasses have been planned in addition to the usual ones at weekends. Again, in support of the Special number we have arranged a public meeting at Barham Park on May 20th. Subject—of course—"Housing". Every branch member is asked to support this very important meeting and



see that it is well publicised. There will at least be leaflets, distributed well in advance, and the usual local press adverts.

Other events in the offing are two propaganda trips to Southsea in June and August, a film show, and the opening of outdoor meetings at Earls Court alternate Fridays, commencing June. Full details will be announced as they are known. Watch the SOCIALIST STANDARD for these, also for the dates and titles of future branch discussions and lectures (suspended recently to make way for Annual Conference business). Finally, well designed posters advertising the branch's regular meetings are still displayed prominently on two of the Wembley Railway Stations and we shall try to keep them there for as long as we can. Who knows, perhaps some of our many visitors will in future be disgruntled victims of Dr. Beeching's axe.

We are receiving a number of enquiries from readers in North East England, and have also received two applications for membership. It has been suggested by members of Central Branch, living in the Newcastle-on-Tyne vicinity that a Discussion Group might be established. Would readers and sympathisers, interested in forming such a Group, please submit their name and address to the Central Organiser at H.O. so that the matter can be considered.

P. H.

GLASGOW MAY DAY RALLY Sunday May 5th 2.30 pm QUEENS PARK

7.30 pm
CENTRAL HALLS
BATH STREET

"Socialism in the Sixties"

Speaker: H. Baldwin (London)

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Meetings

BLOOMSBURY MEETING
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1

Monday, May 13th, 7.30 pm
ANY QUESTIONS?

BROMLEY MEETING
Bromley Public Library (Lecture Room), High Street.

Friday, May 10th, 8 pm
SOCIALIST PARTY & HOUSING
Speaker: L. Cox

HACKNEY MEETING
Bethnal Green Town Hall, Cambridge Heath Road, E2

Wednesday, May 8th, 8 pm
UNEMPLOYMENT
Speaker: H. Baldwin

WEMBLEY LECTURES
Barham Old Court, Barham Park, Harrow Road, Wembley
Mondays, 8 pm

May 6th
THE COMMUNIST PARTY
Speaker: D. Zucconi

May 20th
THE HOUSING PROBLEM
Speaker: H. Baldwin

EALING LECTURE
Windsor Hall, Windsor Road, (3 mins. from Ealing Broadway)

Friday, May 24th 8 pm
DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM
Speaker: R. Starc

MAY DAY MEETINGS

Wednesday, May 1st, 7.30 pm
RALLY: CAXTON HALL,
WORLD WITHOUT WAR

Sunday, May 5th, 3 pm
RALLY: HYDE PARK, LONDON

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY
LECTURES
Maynard Arms, Park Road, Hornsey, at 8 pm

Thursday, 2nd May
THE POLITICS OF YOUTH
Speaker: E. Grant

Thursday, 9th May
IMPLICATIONS OF THE
SOCIALIST REVOLUTION
Speaker: I. Jones

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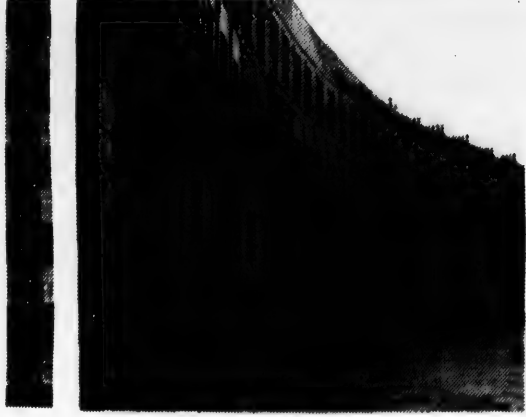

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"Capitalism can produce huge quantities of goods and build enormous cities. And just as surely, in its usual contradictory way, the majority of its people have to put up with narrow drab lives. And for the lonely ones the very bigness of the towns restrict their chances of ever belonging anywhere. This extremity illustrates perhaps most of all the tragedy of the whole housing problem. To say that it is a problem of working class poverty is a truism which runs like a thread through workers' whole lives. For poverty of ownership in the means of life begets poverty in so many other things — perhaps in human contact and friendship most of all."


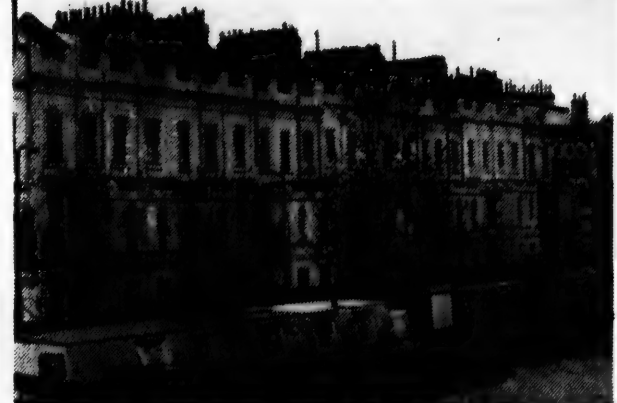
page 71

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June 1963

6d

IN THIS ISSUE

**Race prejudice
is a barrier
to Socialism
Alabama, Bristol
South Africa**

**Who cares about
spies?**

**Help for the
hungry**

The end of the line

**Philosopher off the rails
News from Wales
Labour itching for power**

SOCIALIST STANDARD



Demonstrators for desegregation in Birmingham, Alabama were attacked by the police; top photo (4th May) with truncheons, bottom photo (8 May) with fire hoses. "Racialism is a barrier to the growth of socialist knowledge and the recognition that the only division which really matters is the one between capitalist and worker. The interest of all workers everywhere is the same—the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by socialism."

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Branches

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY 1st and 3rd Thursdays (6th & 20th June) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: SPGB 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, 7th June at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 2nd June at 32 Ickleton Road, Motingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

GLASGOW Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

HACKNEY 2nd & 4th Wednesdays in month 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, NS.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

Groups

BRIGHTON 3rd Friday in month, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

BROMLEY For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

COVENTRY 1st and 3rd Mondays (3rd and 17th June) 7.30 pm, 60 Alma Street, Off Lower Ford St. Enquiries: Secretary, at above address.

EARLS COURT & DISTRICT Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

MID HERTS 1st Wednesday (5th June) in month 7.30 pm, Room 3, The Community Centre, Mill Green Road, Welwyn Garden City. Correspondence: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield, Herts. (Phone Hatfield 4802).

LEWISHAM Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, 2 Davenport Road, SE6.

NOTTINGHAM 2nd Wednesday in month (12th June) 8 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: G. Hallam, 14 Church Drive Carrington, Nottingham.

PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.) Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX 2nd and 4th Monday in month (10th and 24th May) 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: A. Partner, 28 Hambro Hill, Rayleigh.

SWANSEA 1st and 3rd Monday (3rd and 17th June) in month 8 pm, 69 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W.5

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (13th and 27th June) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane, Romford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 8.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, near "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (14th and 28th June) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: M. Hopwood, St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale, Nr Manchester. Tel: PYR 2404.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Enquiries: T. Lord 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran near Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

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Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings etc. for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street London, S.W.4.

NEWS IN REVIEW	88
TOM MALLETT	89
THE SOUTH AFRICAN SNAKE PIT 90	
THIS SUPERIORITY NOTION . . .	91
BRANCH NEWS	92
CHARITY BEGINS AT WORK . . .	93
NEWS FROM WALES	94
THE END OF THE LINE	95
CND AND SOCIALISM	96
PHILOSOPHER OF THE RAILS . .	97
WHO CARES ABOUT SPIES . . .	98
AROUND THE WORLD	99
MEETINGS	99
BUILDINGS IN RUSSIA	100

Race prejudice is a barrier to Socialism

Those who said that the last war was fought, among other things, for racial equality, are having to eat their words fast. Twenty years after the Warsaw Ghetto, we still see the ugly manifestations of racial intolerance and strife in many parts of the world.

Witness Birmingham, Alabama, scene of the latest battle in the struggle over desegregation, where more than nine hundred Negroes are arrested at one demonstration and Ku-Klux Klan bomb outrages wreck an agreement a few hours after it has been reached. Then go further North to Washington D.C., where the situation has produced the Black Moslem Movement, a bitterly anti-white, anti-Jewish organisation, aiming at the establishment of separate Negro States in the U.S.

Over in South Africa, racial oppression is sharpened by fresh laws giving sweeping powers of detention to the police, and to open your mouth too much in public is to invite a charge of treason and perhaps the death penalty. In another part of this unhappy continent, Nairobi based British troops riot in retaliation for the murder of one of their number.

Here at home, Chinese shops are smashed at St. Helens, Lancs. and there is the usual resentment against coloured bus workers—this time at Bristol. It is only a few months since the Colin Jordan affair and the tins of "Jew Killers."

Racial prejudice and antagonism are with us all the time, but it is only now and then that they flare into headline news. Mostly they smoulder sullenly beneath publicity level, but ready to be sparked off, perhaps by some comparatively minor incident, into really nasty outbreaks of violence like the Notting Hill affairs a few years ago.

Then it is that ignorance and bigotry come fully into their own as hysterical fanatics hurl abuse and insults at coloured and other minorities. Scapegoats have now been found to blame for workers' problems, it being conveniently forgotten that the problems existed long before the scapegoats ever appeared. Passions are inflamed and crime, one of the everyday hazards of private property society, now takes on a racial—almost political—significance.

In the welter of confusion it is not surprising that to many workers, race has become synonymous with nationality. It is a notion which the capitalist press has encouraged from time to time. During the last war, for instance, it was the policy of one paper at least to refer frequently to the "German Race" and to try and prove its essentially warlike nature. "Get back to your own country" is a remark often heard, and there was even one English father who refused his son permission to marry because the girl came from Wales, and who wanted frontiers established between the two countries.

Probably many people thought this quite ludicrous at the time, yet it is really no more so than the whole notion of nationality which most workers support in a world made smaller almost daily by the advance of communications. It is the same notion which incidentally produced two opposing candidates in one ward in the recent municipal elections at Bradford, both standing for "Pakistani Interests."

Socialists have always opposed racialist theories. There is no scientific evidence that one group is innately superior to another, and in fact it would be

"The growth and spread of civilization has gone on with a serene indifference to racial lines. All groups who have had an opportunity to acquire civilization have not only acquired it but also added to its content. Conversely, no group has been able to develop a rich or complex culture when it was isolated from outside contacts."

Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*



Alabama had to have its turn, sooner or later. Now that it has come, ignorance and violence seem to be taking command.

Ignorance because the ugly scenes in Birmingham have been caused by the assertion of the simple fact that differing skin colours is no reason why people should not share buses, restaurants, schools, and so on.

Violence because we live in a violent world, in which an indefensible idea can often be asserted by the breaking of heads—and worse.

And, as far as racial theories go, Alabama is the very pit of ignorance. That is the one state to have held out completely against the federally decreed desegregation of schools. That is the state where they still salute the Confederate flag, where they wish that the Civil War was being fought all over again. That is the state described by Attorney-General Robert Kennedy as like a foreign country.

It is no surprise that the Negroes have developed their own counterpart of Southern repression. The Black Muslims talk in the same terms as the most extreme segregationists, except that their policy is for black people to discriminate against white. Once again, the inevitable result of ignorance and violence has been to breed yet more of its kind.

Is there no glimmer of hope? As American industry expands into Dixie-land, it takes with it no nonsense about segregation. It wants to exploit them all, white and black.

difficult to find a "pure" race in the world today, even if scientists could agree on a definition of the term. And among the capitalist class, too, there is a growing recognition that discrimination is decidedly damaging to their commercial interests. It was the "Business Community" in Birmingham, Alabama, which sought agreement with Martin Luther King.

While workers hold such ideas, there is the added danger that they will lend a ready ear to potential dictators, and that even today's limited political democracy will suffer. But, above all, racialism is a barrier to the growth of Socialist knowledge and the recognition that the division between capitalist and worker is the only one which really matters. The interest of *all workers everywhere* is the same—the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by Socialism. Until they get this vital fact clear, they will stay in the mess that they are in today.

THE NEWS IN REVIEW

Birmingham, Alabama

This development is likely to give the Negroes the weapon they lack at the moment—the vote. When they have that (as President Kennedy acknowledged so blatantly in his 1960 campaign) they will be a political factor to reckon with. We shall probably see a lot of Southern Congressmen hurriedly changing their tune.

That still seems a long way off. At the moment the South presents a doleful picture, especially for Socialists, who know that the future of the world depends upon how long it takes the international working class to throw off its manifold ignorances and to unite for the establishment of a sane, humane society.

Spies for peace

It is in the nature of the misuse of words which characterises capitalist organisations that the Spies for Peace were not spying and that they were doing nothing for peace.

The existence of the Regional Seats of Government was a very loosely kept secret, one which was divulged to plenty of everyday Civil Defence volunteers. In any case, anyone who was not actually in the know need not have been a Sherlock Holmes to have deduced that such places existed. The capitalist class will obviously make their preparations to re-

establish the government of property society after a nuclear holocaust.

What will the Spies for Peace achieve? They are unlikely to get hold of any secrets which really matter to British capitalism. If they do, it will hardly safeguard peace to reveal them to other capitalist powers, who will doubtless use them to bolster their own military machines.

All that the Spies can do for themselves is to fall foul of the law (which they all, by implication, support) and to stir up the irritation of the masses of workers who so ardently defend their masters' interests.

And when we have said that we are only just beginning.

What is so wearying about the Spies for Peace—and about the Committee of 100, and the March Must Decide brigade, and the CND itself—is that they are yet another group who steadfastly ignore the obvious.

Wars, and their weapons, are part of capitalist society. The only way to abolish all of them is to get rid of capitalism. Some unilateralists, in fact, would say that they agree with this.

Nevertheless, they continue with their antics and as each of the stunts fails to have any effect upon the build up of the world's nuclear arsenals they carry on to other, sometimes sillier, escapades.

Anything, in fact, rather than work for Socialism.

As we said, it is very wearying.

Hunger and profit

We are now, in case you have not had a collecting box stuck under your nose, or have missed the big spread adverts, in the middle of another campaign, the Freedom from Hunger Campaign.

Hunger is certainly a massive, depressing problem. The third World Food Survey, published last April by the F.A.O., reported that between ten and fifteen per cent. of the world's population is undernourished and up to one-half suffer from hunger or malnutrition. There are plenty of other eminently quotable statistics which all add up to the fact that a large chunk of the people on the earth simply do not get enough to eat.

Some people regard this as a problem of overpopulation, of the world's resources being outstripped by human breeding powers. Others think that it is a problem of getting enough money to send a tractor here, or a shipload of fertiliser there. In fact, this is only playing with the problem.

Capitalism is the barrier between man and the solution of hunger. The physical difficulties of society will never be tackled sensibly as long as capitalism lasts. Take, for example, the case of the Dutch milk. Reported *The Sunday Telegraph* on May 12th last:

A plan to fine farmers who produce too much milk is being considered in Holland by Mr. V. G. M. Marynen, Minister of Agriculture.

The object is to cut production by four

per cent. The scheme has been agreed with provisionally by the farmers and workers unions.

Mr. B. Van Dam, director of the Netherlands Milk Marketing Board, said: "The time has come to set a new course for our milk producers. It is no use going on increasing production in view of the present state of the market."

It is typical of the enduring stupidities of property society that millions of people starve in one part of the world while in another people are penalised for producing food. For capitalism, human suffering does not matter; the "state of the market" is what brings in the dividend cheques, and so that is what counts.

The Freedom from Hunger Campaign has recruited a great many sincere helpers. This sort of campaign usually does. The deeper their sincerity, the greater the tragedy that their efforts are always so wide of the mark.

The Labour Party itching for power

The Labour Party, itching for power, is like a man listening to the last few football results with seven draws on his pools coupon.

They suffer. They perspire. They are fearful lest a wrong word should shatter their glorious dream.

That was why the Labour Party was so worried about the railway strike which never got started. Perhaps the strike was something of a forlorn hope. But, after

all, strikes are the only weapon workers have in their disputes with their employers.

The Labour Party, let it be recorded, did not oppose the strike for any reason connected with the welfare of the railway workers. They opposed it because they judged that it may have damaged their chance of winning the next election; it might have upset their Treble Chance. For Labour, as for other capitalist parties, votes are tremendously important.

Mr. Wilson is doing his best to gather as many of them as he can. He celebrated May Day, for example, by propounding a plan to "... make a reality of the Commonwealth ..." (although there was nothing very new in what he said—just some more mucking about with Imperial Preferences).

He also threw in his now customary make weight about the Labour Party not being prepared to see Britain as a second rate power.

Now all this may have been palatable to retired colonels in Bournemouth and to the floating, drifting voters whom the Labour Party has wooed so coyly for so long. But it has absolutely nothing to do with the Socialism which Mr. Wilson protests he stands for, nor with the working class interests he professes to defend.

There must still be some members of the Labour Party who can remember the days when strikers were people to support and when patriotism was something of a dirty word. What do they think of their party, as they watch it take its inevitable path to the status of a fully fledged party of capitalism, with power as the one and only object of its miserable life?

TOM MALLET

We sadly report the recent death of our comrade Tom Mallett. For those who knew and worked with him, his death will leave a deep feeling of loss. Tom joined the Party in the middle 1930's. He never became a speaker or writer; he chose instead to spend his energies on canvassing and selling Party literature at his place of work and at party meetings in the South London district.

For many years Tom earned his living as a news-van driver for one of the big London evening papers, and it was along his run, from Temple Gardens in the City to Twickenham, that over the years he managed to persuade newsvendors to take and to display the *SOCIALIST STANDARD*. His greatest delight was the time he managed after much persuasion to get a display of the *STANDARD* in Parliament Square, and

another display of a selection of party literature outside Russell Square tube station. At his place of work he managed to sell a regular number of *SOCIALIST STANDARDS* and he also managed to take up a regular collection for the Party's General Fund. Unfortunately over the years no record was kept of these small but regular sums, which must have amounted to quite a respectable contribution to Party funds.

Branch canvassing was yet another of Tom's interests, and for many years he gave example to, and urged others in S.W. London Branch to sell the *S.S.* from door to door. At the time that regular outdoor meetings were being held at Clapham Common, Tom could always be relied upon to be there with his case of Party literature, and when some few years ago Comrade Ritchie died leaving a large literature

round, Tom casually managed to add quite a large portion of the round to his own, already large and scattered, rounds in Battersea and Clapham. So, before ill health began to mar his efforts he was selling twenty dozen *SOCIALIST STANDARDS* regularly.

Sadly, in recent years persistent ill health prevented him from being as active as he once was, yet he still managed somehow to take and sell a regular five dozen *STANDARDS*. Now he has gone, remembered probably by only a few Party members, but known to a great many readers and sympathisers. His role in the Party's work was silent but his efforts live as an example to us all. He will be sadly missed. And to his wife and two children we send our deepest and heartfelt sympathy.

VIC PHILLIPS.



The South African snake pit

REPRESSION and bloodshed are no strangers to Africa. Even so, what is happening now in South Africa will make a black page in the history of that unhappy continent.

South Africa lives now under a cloud of fear, in resigned acceptance of the fact that widespread violence is inevitable in the near future. Both the Government and the Africans are ready. Both have done their share of violence. The record of the government is well enough known; now an African terrorist movement has emerged, and has already carried out its first "execution."

Behind the political dispute there is the mass of everyday crime, the gang warfare, the murders (2,610 of them in 1961—twenty times as many as in Britain, which has a population three times that of South Africa) and the intimidation. This is South Africa. It is a scene savage enough to belong to a distant, primitive society.

Yet in many ways the Republic is a modern country, with strongly developing industries and considerable natural wealth. It has mines which have turned out over £16 million worth of gold in one month. It has uranium—a by-product of the gold mines. It has silver, manganese, asbestos and diamonds.

Over the ten years 1952 to 1962, South Africa more than doubled the value of her exports, from £376.2 million to £778 million—an impressive increase, even after we have allowed for currency inflation. Vital production, such as steel, has bounded upwards.

With her economic power, and with a ruling class which is possibly the most sophisticated in Africa, South Africa could become the workshop of its continent. But the policy of its government is firmly denying the Republic its chance of becoming an advanced, developed capitalist nation.

This policy is apartheid—euphemistically translated as "separate development"—which the South African government has followed single-mindedly since the Nationalists came to power in 1948. Because apartheid is essentially a repressive policy, it needs widespread coercive laws to enforce it.

The Pass Laws, for example, forbid an African to stay outside his allotted area for more than a certain time. The Laws are designed to keep the Africans out of the towns, and confine them to the rural areas. There are frequent round ups of Africans in the towns, to ensure that the Pass Laws are not flouted. One thousand Africans a day are being arrested in this way.

South Africa has established Bantustans, or areas reserved exclusively for coloured people. Nobody goes voluntarily to a Bantustan—100,000 native families have already been forcibly moved into them and the government plan to move a total of five million families in the same way. This has meant that one-third of the Africans now have no legal right to live anywhere.

It means that eventually South Africa will be split into two nations, with the white one having 87 per cent. of the land.

The Pass Laws are not the only repressive legislation at work in South Africa. The Africans—the vast majority of

the population—have no legal right to strike, nor even to negotiate through trade unions. And in case opposition to the government threatens to become too vocal, there are Acts like the recently passed Security Bill, which allows the indefinite detention of an opponent of the government and which can, of course, be used against a European as easily as against an African.

As the screw has been tightened upon the African, his desire to hit back has been intensified. The Luthuli tactic of passive resistance seems likely to be forgotten, as the violence from one side inevitably provokes further violence from the other. The immediate outlook for South Africa is not happy.

Why does the South African government stand out against what seems the inevitable progress of its country into the ranks of the world's capitalist powers? In South Africa there are eleven million Africans as against three million Europeans. If the country's industry is to develop it needs a stable, contented working class to draw upon for its labour requirements. The bulk of this working class must come from the Africans.

But a stable working class is one which has the sort of political and legal rights which workers in this and other capitalist countries have. If the Africans had these rights, there would almost certainly be no compromise with the Europeans. The country would become, like Ghana, Nigeria, and so on, politically African.

To the industrialists of South Africa, this is not so fearsome a prospect. They are confident that they could do a deal with an African government and in any case they know that their future expansion depends upon the freeing of the native labour force.

It is a different matter for the landowners. Their future hangs upon them preventing the Africans asserting their numerical superiority. So they have done their best to prevent the Africans developing into a perceptible working class. They have tried to keep them out of the towns. And now, as they split the country in two, they are in fact trying to stop South Africa entering the twentieth century.

South Africa's industrialists—her capitalists—aspire to become the continent's dominant economic power. The policy of apartheid stands in their way, while the smaller, newer states do their best to catch up and take the lead. Unless the industrialists can match their economic power with political power, their ambitions will become an empty dream.

They have a hard struggle ahead. At the moment, as the country slips ever deeper into the pit of violence, of crime and xenophobia, it seems that the landowners may win.

And there is a massive irony in this situation, which should be remembered by everyone who, for one reason or another, takes up the stand against apartheid. The very people who are administering the policy—the dour, ruthless men who are obstinately turning South Africa into a mad dictatorship—are the heirs of the men who were once the darlings of the "progressives."

When, at the turn of the century, British capitalism was

reaching out for the new-found mineral wealth of South Africa, the Boer farmers were the world's favourite underdogs. Many people thought that they were gallant defenders of liberty against a powerful bully. What was called the "morality" of what was called "England's last imperialist war" was a hot political issue.

Well, the Boers made their point. Out of the early struggle of their nationalism has grown the dictatorship which oppresses South Africa today. There is nothing surprising in this. Most struggling nationalist movements pose as the champions of freedom; when they come to power, freedom is often one of the first things to be thrown out of the window.

True as this is of the Boers, it is equally so of the Africans

This superiority notion

IT SHOULD be obvious, really. Whenever they test another H bomb, or run into another economic crisis, or whenever a politician opens his mouth and puts his foot in it, or whenever we think about the strain and ugliness which are the modern substitute for living, it should be obvious. Capitalism is not a desirable or a sensible method of running human affairs.

But instead of being obvious is infuriating. There are the facts, there is the mass of evidence, all screaming for attention. Yet the message gets through, if at all, only slowly. For one reason or another the working class still like capitalism. This is not to say that they like war, or any other problem that capitalism brings with it. They think of these things almost as elements outside human control, like the weather. But capitalism they do like. They support the system which leaves the ownership of the means of life to a very few of the world's people. They support the system of rich and poor, of palaces and prefabs, of ripe pheasant and Spam.

If at any time the workers have to think about why they like capitalism they may say that it gives everyone his chance and that it is our own fault if we are not all like Paul Getty or King Saud. Or perhaps they will offer some equally inane reason. But mostly the working class do not think about why they support capitalism. They absorb the ideas of the system effortlessly. As if by instinct they build up a wall of ignorant, indefensible ideas which all play their part in sustaining the social system of destruction and insecurity. And that can be very infuriating.

It would take up many issues of the SOCIALIST STANDARD to enumerate every one of these ideas. In any case, they have all been dealt with at some time in the past. Let us now take a look at just one of the strange notions with which capitalism is supported on its pedestal of ignorance. This idea is a popular one among the working class. It is also, in some ways, a surprising idea. Let us call it the Superiority Notion. It is, simply, the conviction which many workers hold that they are in some way better than anybody who comes from another working class group.

In one of its most easily identifiable forms, the Superiority Notion is race prejudice. White workers think that they are better than coloured workers; even if they do not want to discriminate against Negroes they often feel sorry for them, just as they would for someone who had cancer. Colour prejudice is so widespread partly because its victims are most

who are now suffering under apartheid. There is no reason to assume that if they ever get power in South Africa they will be any better than some of the other African governments, who have allowed only as much political freedom as their particular brand of capitalism needs. There is no reason to assume, in fact, that the African nationalists would be any better than Verwoerd himself.

This is the irony and the bitterness of nationalism and indeed of property society. South Africa is but one corner of a world which, by its very fundamentals, can only live by denying human priorities.

IVAN.

easily recognised. Race prejudice itself extends beyond mere white-against-black antipathy, reaching out to embrace anyone who is "foreign." It is almost a tradition among English workers, for example, to distrust some types of foreign workers. (Some, on the other hand, they may trust; many English workers think that Chinese people are naturally honest.) They are content at one time to blame the troubles of the world onto French temperament, at another onto German belligerence, at another onto American irresponsibility. (Although we should notice that this particular fallacy has its fashions. Young workers nowadays think it glamorous to be Italian, but that is not what their fathers, in 1941, thought.) In England, in other words, many workers think that the only person who can be trusted, the only person who makes a desirable neighbour or workmate, is English, white and gentle. In other countries they have their own version of this particular prejudice. A popular idea on the Continent is that everyone in England is a horsey fop.

The Superiority Notion does not end at race prejudice. It is common for workers in one part of a country to think that they are better than those in another part. In Southern England they think of the North as an endless slag heap, with flat-capped dinosaur-brained inhabitants to match. In the North they think the South a cissy lot, a pretentious bunch who sound their aitches alright but are strangers to a good day's work. This feeling can even extend to different parts of the same town. There is at least one dilapidated area in London, dissected by a dirty canal, in which the slumdwellers on one bank think themselves better than those on the other. These examples could go on for a long time.

The basic ingredient of the Superiority Notion is that, no matter how depressed a worker may be, he can always look down upon somebody else. Even those who are themselves the victims of widespread prejudice have their own Notion. Some Negroes look down upon other coloured people: some Jewish workers regard Negroes as inferior, and so on. And if we ask why the Notion is so popular, is the answer that the working class occupy such an inferior situation in society, and eke out such restricted lives, that it is practically essential to their peace of mind to be able to console themselves with the idea that somebody, somewhere, is lower than they are?

The Superiority Notion is booming, for example, in Southall in Middlesex. Southall has a rubber factory, a massive lorry works, a cereal factory, a canal, a gas works and a ten pin

bowling alley. It also has a large Indian and Pakistani population, who have taken some of the jobs at the rubber factory and the gas works for which it is now difficult to get white workers. So Southall also has a race ignorance problem because, apart from any personal objections there may be to the immigrants, there is also the usual deep-rooted opposition to strange men whose skin is a different colour and who speak a language which sounds incomprehensible.

So the Southall workers feel superior. Yet a walk around the place quickly puts their Notion into perspective. Street upon street, the dingy houses stretch away. Sometimes they are houses which were built in the 18th. Century; sometimes those which were built since 1900. Some are even post-war. But the drab sameness, the cheapness and the restrictions, are all there. These houses, standing in the richly combining vapours of the molten rubber, the exhaling gas works, the oozing canal and the roasting cereals, each day feed the local industry with its supply of human ability. To be blunt, Southall is one of the dreariest imaginable working class areas. It is a problem to appreciate how *anybody* who lives there could keep up the pretence that he is better than anyone else. But the Southall workers manage it.

There is only one way to deal with this ridiculous situation and that is to cut right through the middle of it with the facts.

Branch News



With the usual optimism of Socialists, last month was an extra special one, with a larger supply of the special edition of the *SOCIALIST STANDARD*—20 pages dealing mainly with the subject of Housing. The weather on May Day was not helpful, but despite this much was done.

On May 1st an indoor meeting was held at Caxton Hall, London. The audience numbered over 100 and a large percentage of the audience were non-members. Literature sales amounted to nearly £3 and a collection of £13 4s. was made.

On May 5th, Sunday, there was the usual meeting in Hyde Park. It was a modest success. Members rallied well to the meeting despite the very cold winds. Next year the Propaganda Committee will ensure a better speaking position. This year we were restricted by the rebuilding that has been going on at Hyde Park.

Many literature sellers met during the morning and despite heavy competition from other organisations sold over 300 *SOCIALIST STANDARDS* and many pamphlets throughout the day.

Nottingham. Two London speakers held meetings during the week-end. The meetings were well supported by Nottingham

members and six dozen *STANDARDS* were sold.

Glasgow. Comrade Baldwin from London joined the Branch activity and although the Saturday arrangements for an outdoor meeting had to be called off due to heavy rain, fifteen or so Comrades descended on the City Square to sell Socialist literature.

During the Sunday afternoon procession 4 dozen S.S. were sold, and at the outdoor meeting afterwards a collection of 27/6 was taken and 3 dozen *STANDARDS* disposed of. The evening indoor meeting drew an audience of 65 including 20 Party members. A collection of £4 was taken and much literature sold.

The May Day propaganda meetings were part of the great work that Glasgow members have been carrying on since they decided to contest the Municipal election, held in May. Our comrades are most enthusiastic and energetic and are constantly seeking ways and means of furthering the Socialist case. Their immediate aim is to contest Municipal elections in every Ward in the city, this apart from their wish to contest Parliamentary elections.

Lewisham Branch report that from October 1962 to March 1963 they held a total of 21 lectures and 6 meetings. These were held at the Co-op. Hall (their branch meeting place) and the Lewisham Town Hall. Literature sales amounted to £5 and collections £35. The meetings were most successful and much experience in organising successful propaganda has been gained. Four applications for membership of the Party have been made. The Branch is hoping to organise regular outdoor meetings during the summer at Blackheath and Lady-

Socially, there are only two types of people living under capitalism. One type is the capitalist who can live without going to work because he owns places like the gas works and the canal and he gets the profits from them. The other type is the worker who does not own any factories or anything like them and who can only live by working for a wage. For the worker, capitalism is an unpleasant system. It brings him problems like war and insecurity and the ever present strain of balancing his budget. It puts him to live in places like Southall.

But capitalism does something else. It separates and illuminates the fact that all workers all over the world, whatever language they speak and whatever the colour of their skin, are suffering the same sort of problems. The capitalist world has innumerable Southalls—and many worse places besides. Thus capitalism makes it plain that the interests of workers everywhere are the same; to get rid of their problems, to get rid of capitalism. To do this, they must get rid of their Superiority Notion, in all its forms, and of the other baseless, ignorant ideas which keep capitalism going. Capitalism itself, day by day, piles up the evidence in favour of its own abolition. It stares the working class in the face.

It should be obvious really. . . But this is where we came in. IVAN.

well Fields. In addition to this work, the Branch members have been helping the Bromley Group which is also holding meetings from time to time among other activities.

World Socialist Party of Ireland. From this month the *STANDARD* will be the official journal of both Socialist Parties. As soon as it can be arranged, regular articles and news items will be sent from Ireland and incorporated each month. The Belfast Branch held May Day meetings on Sunday, May 5th and it is hoped to have a full report of these next month.

A comrade living in Cornwall is spending much time in travelling the county selling Party literature. The results are astounding and anyone visiting Cornwall, or living there, should have no difficulty in purchasing *SOCIALIST STANDARDS* and Party pamphlets. It is hoped to give a list of the towns visited by this Comrade next month when a full report of his activities is available.

The third of the inter-branch (Bloomberg, Ealing, Paddington) "Any Questions" meetings was held at Conway Hall on May 13th. These meetings have proved most successful. They give a good opportunity for members and visitors to ask questions on matters that concern them. The questions have ranged widely and have been most stimulating to all. The atmosphere is, or certainly appears to be, less formal than normal propaganda meetings and in addition to a panel of three members answering points, ample scope for discussion is also given. It is hoped to continue these meetings and it would seem that for Party Groups the idea is a very good one and should be given serious consideration by organisers of these.

P. H.

HELP FOR THE HUNGRY

Charity begins at work

FROM TIME to time appeals appear in the Press or are broadcast on the radio to provide food or shelter for starving or homeless people in such parts of the world as Korea, the Congo or (latterly especially) Algeria.

Easter is traditionally the time when charitable appeals are intensified, and various bodies affiliated to the Freedom from Hunger Campaign then made a particular point of drawing attention to the contrast between the fitness, security, wealth of, for example, the readers of *The Observer* and the plight of the unfortunates in these countries. *War on Want* pointed out that so many were starving, homeless, suffering, orphaned or despairing; the *Save the Children Fund* asked for "shillings or pounds" to provide "food, warmth, life itself" for starving children. The *United Nations Association* asked readers to covenant one per cent. of their incomes for seven years to "help in education, research and training for the under-developed countries" so that parents could be aided "in the fight for food"—heading this appeal, "No Eggs for 2 out of 3 People in the World." Elsewhere in the same paper the *Oxford Committee for Famine Relief*, yet another affiliated body, asked for help for "children with hunger-swollen stomachs—without food all day," and mentioned 634 cases of malnutrition in one centre; it said that £2 would send four children daily meals for a month. Similarly, the previous Sunday in the same paper, *War on Want* claimed that £15 would provide a Tent Home for eight destitute Algerians.

No doubt the well-meaning organisers of such appeals are frequently hard put to it to carry out even a fraction of their good intentions, for they compete not only with everyday demands on our purses, but also with innumerable other appeals for aid to Tibetan refugees, limbless ex-servicemen, incurable cripples, cancer research, homes for children and the aged, distressed gentlefolk, and residential clubs for sailors (to mention only those that appeared alongside the Freedom from Hunger trio).

They may therefore have been very pleased to hear of the notable effort to relieve hunger and thirst among some 2,000 refugees and unemployed from Britain and the Continent which was made on the night of Monday, April 22, at a large, old but sturdy, building some twenty miles west of Marble Arch. It seems that no actual Koreans, Congolese or Algerians were present—but one must begin somewhere, after all. None of those present is reported to have had a swollen stomach (not, at any rate, swollen by *hunger*) or to have been actually starving—but the drive out along the Thames valley may well have stimulated some appetites, and who knows, some of the busier people may have had to skip lunch that day.

What is undeniably true is that a good many of the guests at that ball at Windsor Castle had been out of a job for many years, despite their willingness and availability for the duties of occupying a throne and making themselves generally useful, as advertisements for jobs phrase it, in the ceremonial service of the callous and ungrateful countries who have rejected them. Moreover, a large proportion of the rest have never been employed, and have had to rely on public generosity all their lives.

The scale of this generosity on that Monday night was most

impressive. According to William Hickey in the *Daily Express*, the means by which the 2,000 attained freedom from hunger (and thirst) for at least one evening included: 80 lb. smoked salmon and 300 lb. fresh salmon, 500 oz. caviar, 36 turkeys, 50 ducks, 200 chickens, two barons of beef, 14 large legs of pork, 24 hams, 500 lettuces, 80 lb. tomatoes, 36 cucumbers, 360 eggs, 28 lb. beetroot, 20 lb. Belgian endive, 48 bundles of spring onions, 48 bunches of radishes, 500 lb. fresh fruit, 200 pints fresh cream, 1,600 bottles of champagne, 1,080 bottles of whisky, 720 bottles of gin, 216 bottles of vodka, 2,000 bottles of lager and 20,000 cigarettes. In case they all became hungry again by morning, a further 4,000 eggs and 6,000 rashers of bacon were provided for breakfast; otherwise, of course, there might have been no eggs for 2 out of 3 people in the ballroom. To aid them in the fight for food, 145 servants were on hand, and there were even "half a dozen volunteers from the Royal Mews at Buckingham Palace" to assist in the struggle to open car doors.

Expressing the "hope that everyone will relax and enjoy themselves," Hickey gave the total cost as between £15,000 and £20,000. This works out at not far short of £10 per head, and presumably includes Joe Loss's fee for providing a 30-man band to play for dancing. Whether it includes the pay of the 15-man strong band supplied by the Brigade of Guards and the 40 Metropolitan policemen working a double shift within the castle precincts, or the costs of erecting 40 special traffic signs, providing "thousands of freshly cut flowers" from the royal conservatories, and illuminating the exterior of the castle with 52 arc-lamps, is more doubtful. To say that £14 or £15 was spent on each guest would probably not be a wild exaggeration.

Judging by the Press reports the following day, the benevolent hopes of William Hickey were fulfilled. At any rate there is no indication that those who danced the twist so well that midnight were unduly disturbed by the thought that what had been spent on this one "vast and glittering party" would have housed more than 10,000 destitute Algerians or provided 4,000 starving children with daily meals for well over a year, or paid the fuel bills of the 10,000 old people estimated to have died this winter as a result of inadequate heating. Why should they worry? They themselves receive, just like their ancestors or precursors, the benevolence of the greatest charitable body the world has ever known: the working class.

There were no advertisements or radio appeals, of course, for contributions to the expenses of the splendid celebration at Windsor and of the subsequent display of wealth and privilege surrounding the marriage of an actual, real live cousin of the Queen. None of the British and foreign royals and ex-royals and their favoured friends was observed standing on a street corner with a tin and a poster or a collection of little paper crowns to pin on the lapels of generous passers-by. No, this particular charity is much better organised: they save you the trouble of taking money out of your pay-packet to put it into a tin, or of writing out a cheque. In a way, you pay for it all because it comes out of the surplus value which is extracted from every moment of your working day.

No doubt a good many of those who provide this surplus value would pay for things like this even if they were asked—

like the man who wrote to the *Daily Express* saying: "If we really want our royals—and I can't imagine ourselves without—for goodness' sake let us foot the bill cheerfully and generously." The same poverty of imagination is presumably suffered by the thousands who waited for hours outside Westminster Abbey to catch a precious glimpse of the great occasion. But there are thousands, probably millions, more who would if pressed admit to at least an occasional hankering after a bit more of the wealth which they, and only they (together with their fellow-members of the working class all over the world) produce. After all, if you are starving or homeless it would be nice to have some food or a roof over your head, wouldn't it? Even if your food or your accommodation is not inadequate in quantity but merely inferior in quality, it would be nice to have something better, wouldn't it?

Some of the more daring of us may go so far as to wish that we, too, could sometimes visit the many beautiful places in the world, see more of the sublime achievements of the great painters and sculptors, have more time to appreciate literature and poetry or study languages or history or science—or simply wish that we had more chances to use our talents, our skills and abilities, our intelligence and creative ability, to the full, instead of being condemned to the grinding monotony of boring, meaningless and often futile work, day after day. Most of us assume such wishes to be unrealistic and pointless day-dreams, inevitably doomed to frustration. To have to go to work each day and devote most of your waking hours to tasks with little or no connection with your interests is as inescapable a necessity as denying some of your wants in order that more

urgent ones shall be met.

Yet there is no necessity whatever for the frustrations, the deprivations and the disappointments that are our accustomed lot to continue a moment longer than we allow. It is our own willingness, as a class of workers, to go on permitting the capitalist class—the owners of the means of production, the buyers of our energies—to take all that we produce and return to us a pittance, that enables wealth to be blatantly flaunted and wasted in a world of poverty and want and threatening mass-destruction. It is because we "can't imagine ourselves without" our royals, our landowners, our shareholders, our financiers, our soldiers and sailors and airmen and police, our masters and our State apparatus, that they continue to dissipate the abundant riches we produce, in the display of luxury and the machines of death.

Two or three generations ago poverty, unemployment, war, and the myriad daily frustrations and miseries of life under capitalism ceased to be necessary at all. Since that time the capacity of man to satisfy all his wants has increased many times. When the workers of the world at last see that this is so, and organise to appropriate the wealth they have created, when they do away at last with the entire system of buying and selling and paying of wages, and prices, and all that goes with it—then every man, woman and child on the planet will have enough to eat, there will be ample clothing and housing for all. No barriers, political or economic, will frustrate travel anywhere over the face of the globe for all who will, and the creative potential of every human being will be used to the full.

P. R. COLLINS.

NEWS FROM WALES

COINCIDING with the plans to close down railways in Wales comes the plan for the dispersal of the civil population in the event of a nuclear attack. The chief—and practically the only area of dense population in Wales—is the county of Glamorgan and a part of Monmouthshire, so the "plan"—if it can be so called—is presumably mainly concerned with the towns of Newport and Swansea and the City of Cardiff, together with the immediate surroundings. Swansea was named in Hansard as one of the 19 areas in England and Wales from which a part of the population might be dispersed.

The Civil Defence Authority, it is stated, would set in motion the scheme for assembling the threatened population in Swansea (it is not stated whether before, during or after the 10 minute warning), though one may suppose it will be during the 10 minutes period of grace. The tragic farce is that no one knows where or when the town's population would be removed to safety (*Western Mail*, 9/4/63). "Details for dispersal plans do not exist," states Mr. Thomas, Assistant Chief Defence Officer, "But I am sure that someone will get on the phone and tell us what to do."

These gentlemen are going to be extremely busy during the 10 minute inter-

val—so busy indeed that they can only ensure that "... 43 per cent. of the population would be dispersed ... to what are considered to be less likely areas." We note with "gratitude" the facts that 57 per cent. of the townspeople are likely to be left behind, also that those who are taken out have no guarantee that they will be safe in their new location. The *Western Mail* points out that "It is widely recognized that the 'fourth danger'—fall-out—may even affect reception areas."

To come back to where we started—the "plan" states that the transport for dispersal would be mainly by train but that "other planner," Dr. Beeching, has so arranged it that the main artery, the Central Wales line, will be non-existent!

The whole sorry business, then, amounts to this—that 70,000 people of Swansea are to be alerted in 10 minutes, are to be transported on a non-existent railway line to an area which is quite likely to be contaminated by the "fourth" hazard (fall-out), leaving 57 per cent. of the population behind. This problem is, indeed, full of disastrous overtones. It is probably the reason why Swansea has appointed an educated man, the town's Director of Education, to see it through!

With this vital news in the air all other

news appears flat, but for good measure, and to be fair, one must report that the various political organizations continue to be active on such vital items as demanding the issuing of police summonses, the recording of Council Meeting Minutes and Rate notices in Welsh, not to mention the singing of the Welsh National Anthem in cinemas and Bingo sessions.

Socialists in S. Wales, whilst constantly pointing out the complete chaos and the inability of the "planners" of capitalism (who cannot even "plan" their own demise with any accuracy) are all too often accused of being unrealistic and "idealistic." A comparison of the present "plan" for evacuation with the Socialist proposition should quickly enable the critics to decide who are really the unrealistic ones.

W. BRAIN.

The WESTERN SOCIALIST

Journal for Socialism
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BEECHING'S REPORT

The end of the line

AT LAST the dreaded news is out. Dr. Beeching has dropped his bombshell on the Cabinet; at least so headlined the daily press. But in fact the general outline of the Beeching plan has been known and discussed widely for some months. The Transport Minister, Mr. Marples, immediately confirmed his support of the plan on the day of its publication—hardly the action of a person struck dumb by devastating tidings.

Let us make it clear that we are unconcerned whether or not Capitalism manages to make the railways a profitable concern. We do not urge modernization schemes whose motive is that wealth can be used to serve the interests of a minority. We prefer to show how such changes can and do affect the mass of the population and how these changes can often be unpleasant for some sections of the community.

Probably the new plans will produce a slick rail system. But for how long? And just what new problems will be created by its implementation? Even Dr. Beeching cannot be emphatic in his replies. Change as such cannot be avoided, but we should find out why a change is desired, whom will it benefit and who will suffer and whether it is particularly necessary.

The rapid growth of road traffic has dealt railways everywhere a heavy blow. By point-to-point delivery, transport costs for both goods and passengers are cheaper by road. As the rail running costs increase, so freight and passenger receipts have either fallen or not kept pace, and often the railway's only answer has been to raise rates and fares. This puts the railways at an even greater disadvantage, especially on freight carrying. The car industry is the number one consumer of steel, and the oil interests are powerful factors in Britain's economy, and this is possibly why the Government tends to be more favourable towards the road interests than to an industry like railways.

Many sections of the capitalist class are fed up with subsidising, through taxation, a transport system that is no longer so useful to them as in days gone by. Many lines have massive engineering works which were erected a hundred or more years ago. Such works do, and will in

the near future, need large sums spent on them for restoration, but the takings on these lines would not justify this expenditure. So, in the interests of the profit motive, some fifty to seventy-thousand people will over a period be sacked. Some areas will be more isolated than they are already and no doubt the slashing of lines in Wales and Scotland will be ready fuel for the fires of the small nationalist parties. Mr. Marples has promised that roads in the trainless areas will, if necessary, be improved to take the heavier road traffic, but he gives no guarantee that such construction will synchronize with the closures. The promise of replacement by extra buses is not certain as the routes have a tendency to be just as unprofitable for the bus companies as they were for the railways.

We have heard a lot of chat from the Parliamentary-maid-of-all-work, Lord Hailsham, about new industries in the depressed areas, but it is noticeable that the cuts are heavier in the North and the Scottish lowlands than in the "prosperous" South. Does this mean that the Hailsham promises are just so much political flannel to keep the unemployed in a state of suspended animation?

When the Labour Party nationalised the railways, we were promised efficiency, cheapness, security of jobs for the railwaymen, and improved travelling conditions, but the iron road became the odd man out. The mines were modernised; even the small film industry was subsidised; and huge sums were poured into aircraft production, while the steam train clanked on, encrusted in Victorian filth. So in the 1950's the railway became a whipping boy; a god-send to every comic and mummified politician who aspired to enter the House of Commons: trains always late, freight often mislaid or stolen. and public relationships ranging from antagonism to despair the more recent modernisation programmes have been held up by political uncertainty. Government decisions have ranged from plans for dieselization and electrification, to shutting the whole lot down. At least Dr. Beeching has arrived with something definite.

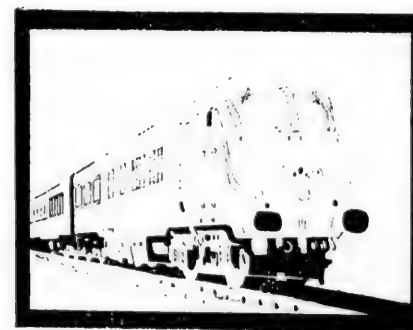
In spite of the sectional and local feeling, the majority of the people will not be very much concerned with the drastic

cuts. The wide ownership of cars has removed the utter dependence on the trains. The car, in fact, has become a universal season ticket, but with the owner himself providing the vehicle and being responsible for garaging, parking, maintenance and driving—problems that were unknown to the train traveller.

After the lull of a few days that followed publication of the report the railway unions have made arrangements for protest strikes, and some local councils and M.P.s. have organised agitations. Some sections of line may be saved, but there is always something of the forlorn rearguard in token strikes and strongly-worded protests; the cage door is being closed after the bird has flown. The stick that falls across the shoulders of the working class is unfortunately wielded by themselves. Most workers believe in and support a society that stands four square on profit, exploitation and privilege for a few, and the railwaymen are no exception. Whilst this mass support is given to capitalist society, those who are not under immediate fire will never extend more than a passing sympathy for the afflicted and with many workers it probably never gets that far. Perhaps the attitude of a fair number of people can be expressed in the statement by a Conservative M.P., Kenneth Lewis, when he stated that the N.U.R. strike threat was a "strike without reason, a strike against change." (*Evening News*, April 4th. 1963.)

Capitalism with its ever-pressing need for new modes of production to prevent its profit from falling has mesmerised its supporters into dumb worshippers who fall prostrate at the very mention of words like "Streamline." Few of them stop to wonder why and for what purpose slickness is established in our every day lives. It is pathetic to wail and protest, to alternate between humble petition and violence, if over the past years one supports in word and deed the very base of our social maladies. If those who ardently organise protests and demonstrations against this and that were to examine more closely their position as workers, the nature of capitalism and its Socialist alternative, their power to defend themselves as a subject class would be much

continued bottom page 99



LETTER



CND and SPGB

You claim in your April issue that CND's main fault lies in the fact that its members "are concerned with removing evils in isolation". I am pleased to tell you that the rank and file of the Campaign, unlike the "respectable" CND bureaucracy, seems to be in the process of realising more and more that nuclear weapons cannot be separated from politics and the fight for socialism. The folly of viewing the H-bomb as an isolated issue will, I am sure, be demonstrated finally in the overwhelming defeat of INDEC's candidate at Twickenham. The identity of war with capitalism has long been clear to those who are both CND supporters and members of the Socialist wing of the Labour Party. I know that the SPGB has little time for the Labour Party, and I imagine that you will consider it against your interests to publish a letter from somebody who favours membership of that organisation, but the fact remains that there are socialists in the Labour Party whose ideals are precisely the same as your own. Personally I think that this country will become socialist by the Labour Party becoming socialist, which seems far more likely than the SPGB forming the Government.

Although the reforms of a Labour Government will not, of course, bring socialism, nor will grinding the workers down, or straying them, one can fight for alleviation of the most immediate and harmful social problems, such as unemployment or the threat of nuclear war, yet still have socialism as one's long term goal. I hope you will not deny that the working class will be better off under a Labour Government even though capitalist society remains, and in the particular fight against nuclear weapons, which are the greatest danger to the human race, socialists in the Labour Party are able to enlist the help of many left-reformists, I fear that if we must

wait for the SPGB to come to power and for Britain to become socialist before we can disarm, then there is every likelihood of our destruction. If you print this letter I shall be interested to read your answer.

Exeter College, Oxford. RICHARD D. CONDON

REPLY.

This is not the first—nor will it be the last—time we have heard the complaint that an organisation's rank and file are sincere, convinced socialists who are being frustrated by reactionary, "respectable" leaders (although it is interesting to hear this from a member of CND, which was once supposed to be the non-respectable organisation!) But if there are so many socialists in CND, why are their convictions never reflected by their leadership? Why, indeed, do they have leaders at all? It is one of the hallmarks of a socialist that he rejects leadership.

Mr. Condon can make what he likes of the big defeat which seems to be the prospect for the INDEC candidate at Twickenham. In fact any such candidate will fail simply because the working class continue to oppose the policies of CND; they still want British capitalism to have the most powerful armaments it can get. CND's lack of electoral appeal is most clearly acknowledged by the many Labour MPs who, although they support the Campaign, do not risk losing their seats by standing as pure unilateralist candidates.

If there are members of the Labour Party whose "ideals are precisely the same" as ours, why are they not members of the SPGB? Why do they remain in a party which is committed to running British capitalism? Mr. Condon does not think that the Labour Party will get socialism by reforms; but they have nothing else to offer apart from reforms, all of which leave capitalism intact and viable.

It is true that starving people are no more likely to be interested in Socialism than are the well fed. Mr. Condon uses this as a justification for a policy of reforms. Yet the facts say that reforms do nothing to alleviate the problems of capitalism. Despite all the reformers' efforts, problems like

poverty, unemployment and war are still clouds over our lives. World Refugee Year, for example, was an attempt to reform the refugee problem. But at the end of that year there were more refugees in the world than there had been at the beginning. It will be interesting to see what effect the current Freedom from Hunger Campaign has on the level of malnutrition and starvation in the world.

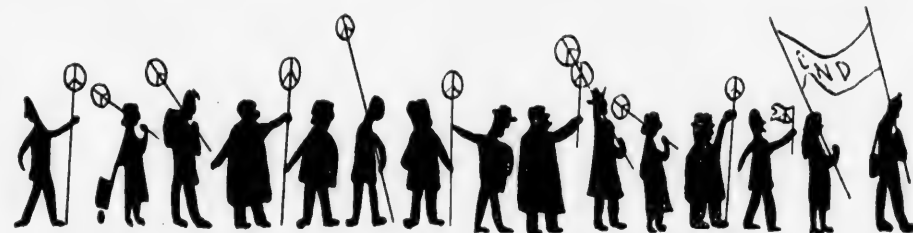
In fact, the only effective reform would be to abolish capitalism altogether. To compromise on this—to support reforms while professing Socialism as a "long term goal"—is to support capitalism and therefore to cease to be a Socialist.

Will the working class be better off under a Labour Government? The last Labour administration persistently fought the working class on the issue of wages and did their best to hold wages down. They ruthlessly crushed strikes. They unhesitatingly went into the Korean War. They started making the nuclear armaments which Mr. Condon now wants to ban.

Perhaps Socialism is a long way off. What is certain is that it will not be helped by people like Mr. Condon, who support capitalist organisations like CND and the Labour Party. These organisations have spread an enormous load of confusion about Socialism among the working class. Mr. Condon is himself confused; he talks about "the SPGB forming the government" and about waiting for "the SPGB to come to power" and for Britain to become Socialist. Socialism will not happen just in Britain or any other one part of the world; it will be an international social system. And it will not have governments and state machines and all the other coercive organs of capitalism. Thus the SPGB will never come to power, never form a government. When Socialism is established we shall cease to exist as a political party.

One final point. We are pleased to receive, and to publish, Mr. Condon's letter. We welcome criticism and discussion of the case for Socialism from all our opponents. We hope that many more of them will write to us.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.



For a socialist analysis
of war read

SOCIALIST PARTY AND WAR

1/3 post paid, from SPGB
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

BOOKS



Philosopher off the rails

Perhaps it was inevitable that Bertrand Russell would be asked to write in the current *Penguin Special* series. After all, it would be churlish to deny that he is a remarkably vigorous old man with a mind more alert and youthful than many men half his age. Anyway, he is certainly an able writer.

But there our compliments must end. We are not really concerned with the attractiveness of Russell's personality but with whether he has any grasp of the capitalist situation in relation to the hideous problem of war. For that is something on which he has spoken loud and often in the past few years. When judged from this standpoint, he scores very low marks.

Readers will, of course, be aware of his prominence in the C.N.D. and later the Committee of One Hundred, of some of the foolish things he has said and done in the name of Nuclear Disarmament. But if you want a concise handbook of pathetic political ignorance, then *Unarmed Victory* (Penguin Special 2s. 6d.) is a must. This tells of the author's frantic appeals to the various statesmen involved in the Cuban and Sino-Indian crises toward the end of last year. The short note on the back cover even suggests that perhaps it was Bertrand Russell's efforts which really saved the world then from nuclear disaster.

There is no evidence to support this at all. The Soviets certainly took a gigantic risk (maybe a calculated one) when they started supplying missiles to Cuba. They must have realised early on that the U.S. would bridle sooner or later, but having gone so far, it is ludicrous to suppose that the cries of Lord Russell made much difference. They were, after all, quite well aware of the man in the street's horror of war—how often have they used this very point in their propaganda—and apart from anything else, war is a costly business, not to be embarked on lightly.

It was suggested at the time by such journals as *The Economist* that perhaps the Soviet Union had never really intended to go to war over Cuba, that Krushchev's advisers probably warned him that Russia was just not ready to take a showdown that far. But who knows, maybe next time they may think differently. There will certainly be other

crises to make our hearts jump with fright as we face again the prospect of obliteration.

If we are to get behind this problem, we must recognise first of all that the gathering of the war clouds is not just a nasty accident. We have, in fact, to acknowledge that the Cubas and the Berlins are manifestations of a bitter struggle which is waged incessantly between the various capitalist powers. It is useless to appeal to the statesmen, because such people are caught up in the tragedy and, as spokesmen for their respective ruling groups, are not there for humanitarian reasons. They are prepared to go to war if their interests so demand.

Lord Russell certainly has not grasped this. True, he recognises the existence of American capitalist interests in Cuba and the readiness of the U.S. Government to bolster up Batista in support of them. But he does not seem to understand a new group of rulers now has the island in its grip, having risen to power on the tide of seething discontent generated by the hated Batista regime. It has happened elsewhere in the world and is a familiar story. Dr. Castro promised to "take immediate steps to resolve" the problems of housing, unemployment, education, health, etc., but instead took immediate steps to turn Cuba into an armed camp. And for the Cuban workers there was a distinction without much difference—they could now die for Castro instead of Batista.

Throughout this book are dotted examples of the confused and contradictory thinking which seems to afflict those who are tarred with the CND brush. In a footnote on page 34, the author chides the Labour Party Executive for advocating mediation through the United Nations. "... Whereas we may consider the UNO to be the cat's whiskers," he says, "most inhabitants of the U.S. consider it merely a cat's paw." Nevertheless, it was Lord Russell who telegraphed Krushchev only two days before, urging "condemnation (of U.S. actions) to be sought through the United Nations."

Again, it is not disputed that "nuclear weapons are instruments of total annihilation," but it is foolish to say in the same breath that they "are themselves an imminent threat to the peace of nations

and a hostile act" (page 25). For such a statement begs the entire question—why nuclear bombs? In fact, why armaments of any kind? Such horrors do not exist in a vacuum. They are produced by society, but a society deeply divided into owners and non-owners in the means of life. It is here that we must commence our search for the way to free mankind from the terrifying prospect which faces it. Socialists discovered long ago that armed conflict is the ultimate method used by one group of owners to advance its interests against those of another. How ludicrous then to try and deal with atom bombs in isolation.

Nowhere does the author give any real consideration to this vitally important aspect. He has no inkling of what causes war and he is not opposed to it in principle anyway. To him there are some wars which are justifiable and others not (see page 11). Well, at least he is honest about it, but is it any wonder that he gets into such a mess when writing about present trends towards another bloodbath, and only a few lines later is blaming the "strength and habit of tradition" for the strife between governments since the end of the last world war?

Having mistaken notions about the cause of war, it is not surprising that Lord Russell should have faulty notions also about its future prevention. He wants a joint statement by America and Russia:

That nuclear war cannot achieve anything anybody would desire... that they have a common interest, namely survival, and that both will sacrifice this common interest if there is a war.

What touchingly childlike faith he has in the statements of capitalist politicians, despite ample evidence of history to show how worthless these are, even granting the sincerity of those who utter them. But there is more to come. Let all states agree, he pleads, to submit their disputes to the arbitration of disinterested parties (whatever that may mean). He feels that arbitrating bodies "would acquire such moral authority that it would be very difficult for any government to flout the decisions of the arbitrators."

continued bottom page 98

Who cares about spies

Why all this fuss about spies and traitors? The commercial press, of course, likes a sensational treason trial. It helps them stir up national hatred. Spies are held up as objects of public scorn. They are, we are told, greedy men and women led to betray their country for thirty pieces of silver. Now come the Spies for Peace. The Spies for Peace have in fact done us a good turn by telling us some of the minor preparations the government has made for its safety in any war. The press, the Labour Party, the churches and other capitalist henchmen, naturally feel differently. They want the "traitors" arrested and punished. They are concerned about Mr. Krushchev getting hold of the pamphlet. But no-one bothers to ask the more basic questions. Why are there state secrets? What is their significance? Does it matter what Mr. Krushchev knows? That he knows there are plans for Regional Seats of Government at Warren Row and the other places where they're supposed to be?

Consider the matter a little more closely. Today there are two kinds of people around. Those who are rich and wealthy and own all the means of living and the rest of us who own practically nothing. This means we have to work for these owners in order to live. In other words we are slaves. There is no other word for it. The workers are dependent on the owning class—just as the slaves of the past were dependent on their masters. It's the same all over the world. In America, in Russia, in France, in Germany. The working class, we are always told, no longer exists. But how stupid can you get! Of course, the working class exists. It's us—those who work and make everything but own nothing. Everywhere the working class is a slave class with the rich owners as their masters. So what's all this nonsense about nations? The slaves in Athens didn't count as Athenians. And we don't really count as Britons, Germans, Poles, or any other of the names in use. Our political nationality is a fraud. "The Nation" is the owning class. The "national interest" is their interest. So all this talk about bombs and armies being kept to protect us is so much nonsense. They exist to protect our masters. To protect their property. To protect their ruling position. To protect their markets. Ask yourself: what have I to sell save my ability to work? Nothing! Then why worry about whether factory owners can sell their steel, their cars, their machines? But it's for these people that wars are fought. To get markets for them. To help their trade. War gives us nothing. In no war is there anything at stake worth dying for. Just our masters' markets and trade interests.

Everybody wants peace these days. Everybody is against war. But how do you get rid of it? Peace marches, perhaps, or conferences? No, neither. If the set-up didn't mean that one class lives by selling what the other makes there would be

no war. For capitalism has a built-in drive toward war. That's why it's stupid to hope for disarmament under capitalism. Armed forces are not kept for the fun of it. They can't be disbanded at will. They exist to protect the interests of the capitalist class at home and abroad. A capitalist must sell or die. If he doesn't sell he gets no profit. If he gets no profit he can't accumulate capital. If he doesn't accumulate he can't modernise his equipment to meet competition. Which means he will be driven to the wall by more efficient competitors. This is the basic cause of modern war.

The capitalists in various areas join to keep a national state to look after their interests and carry out their wishes. Hence the so-called nation. Every "nation," or rather every capitalist gang, competes against every other. In this struggle might is right. This is why armed forces exist. Today America and Russia and their allies are at cold war with each other. They are struggling for world domination because they must. Neither of these groups of powers can afford to let the other get ahead militarily. So the arms race and the H bomb. In this race to keep ahead military secrets are important. Important, that is, to the capitalist class and the state they keep to protect their interests. This is why in every country the worst crime is treason, worse even than murder.

But where do we come in? Should we worry about cases of treason? Should we look upon those who give away secrets as traitors? The short answer to questions such as these is that workers have "no country." And it's not "as if" the state and its secrets exist for our benefit. They are only traitors from the capitalist viewpoint because they have committed the worst crime in the book. They have helped a rival capitalist gang. Each secret betrayed to a foreign power weakens the military machine. This is why state secrets are so important to the capitalist class. This is why those who give them away are labelled traitors and punished harshly. For us it's different. We don't need to worry about security and defence matters. They're not our concern. The war machine is not there to protect us. It's there to protect our masters' interests at home and abroad. And more. The armed forces are used to keep the masters masters, and us slaves. They are part of the government machine. And it is through this machine that the capitalist class rules. At home the government machine is used to keep "law and order," to keep the set-up whereby the capitalist class live off our unpaid labour.

We have nothing to gain from war, nor from war or defence preparations. It is for the capitalist class to worry about British "security" services or about whether Mr. Krushchev knows "our" secrets.

ALB.

continued from previous page)

Yet in the very next paragraph, he forgets this idea and advocates instead that prime fallacy of recent years, World Government. This will not rely on moral authority, because Lord Russell says it will have armed forces "... capable of defeating any state or combination of states that might attempt to resist its authority." It will have to have a monopoly of all the major weapons of

war and possess the raw materials necessary for weapons of mass destruction—presumably including those of nuclear origin.

Here is the final absurdity in one hundred and twenty pages, that strife can be abolished by indulging in it. For this is what the proposal really means, ignoring for the moment all the other objections which deny World Government even the remotest chance of ever being established.

The strength of such an organisation, on Lord Russell's own admission, would depend very much on its ability to wage war, the very evil we all seek to end.

As we have already said, Bertrand Russell is an able writer, but the whole of this book is a transparent illustration of his pitiful ignorance on how to solve perhaps the most terrible problem of our time.

E. T. C.

AROUND THE WORLD

Notes of a visit to our Companion Parties for Socialism

MELBOURNE. I met Jack Butler (Secretary) and Peter Fury. Regular monthly meetings are held in Melbourne and over twelve branch members attend each meeting. The SOCIALIST STANDARD is regularly on sale at the city's Trades Hall. Although no regular public meetings are held, each member makes special efforts to put over the Socialist case, whenever and wherever possible. Comrade Charlie Saunders was contacted by 'phone. Although not meeting up with Peter O'Brien and his wife, I gather that their fourteen month old son already understands the Party case!

SYDNEY. A few members here, including Jimmie Thorburn (Secretary), Peter Bryant, Jack Taylor and Bill Clark. The latter had previously been in Melbourne. He is a speaker and is anxious to stimulate the Sydney Comrades into organised propaganda. There are two dozen members in Sydney and up to now, when Socialist meetings have not been possible, they make a point of attending meetings of other parties and wherever possible put over our propaganda.

AUCKLAND—New Zealand. The Secretary, Trevor Gribble and his wife said that there are a dozen members who meet periodically and sell the STANDARD at their places of work. Ron Everson, Secretary of Wellington came to Auckland to meet me. There are over a dozen members in the Auckland Branch and they are bright and hopeful about their activities. They greatly appreciate

the tape recording lectures sent over by the S.P.G.B. which they find most helpful.

VANCOUVER. Johnny and Margaret Ahrens admit that things are rather quiet there, although two shops regularly display Socialist Party literature. There are eight members in the Branch who meet periodically.

Not far away is VICTORIA where Comrade George Jenkins and branch members are able to be much more active, producing and distributing propaganda leaflets by the thousand. In general, the Socialist Party of Canada is doing quite well and is keeping an eye on all the branches including Vancouver.

LOS ANGELES. I met our comrades Smith, Miller, Jansen and their wives. Don Poirier was there in his role of general organiser of the S.P.C. and W.S.P. He broadcasts, speaks at outdoor and indoor meetings, sells literature, travels and organises. This comrade is a Socialist machine. He is having a great impact everywhere he goes. The Companion parties cannot help but do well with members such as he.

In general, much can be done to keep contact with our comrades in the West by regular correspondence and exchange of views. They have to wait a month for the SOCIALIST STANDARD, but correspondence can be sent to them more frequently and much quicker by air mail.

JOE MCGUINNESS

THE END OF THE LINE continued from page 95

stronger, and a new society that degree nearer. It is not only rail systems that are stunted by our current society.

How will transport operate in a Socialist society? Firstly, it will be owned by the community as a whole, which means that it would be absurd to charge ourselves fares. The problems of threatened bankruptcy, or the need to reinvest sur-

plus would be unknown in such a society. One cannot say with certainty just what form of transport would be most common, but this we do know; man's prime concern, in transport as everything, will be to serve the needs of the entire community.

If a given form of transport should be technically obsolete, then the operatives would certainly not be cast on a dole queue. This only happens in capitalist society, where the exploitation of wage labour is dominant. A Socialist society would also ensure that alternative methods of transportation were already fully in operation before other means were removed. The present dominant form of travel—the car—in its current form, is hardly likely to be regarded as beneficial under Socialism. The effect of enormous numbers of people driving their vehicles along a confined road space serves only to jar our nervous systems and it is not to be wondered at that the road casualty figures have become an outstanding disgrace and tragedy.

The history of capitalism, with its demand for accelerated production and

Meetings

BROMLEY MEETINGS

Bromley Public Library
[Lecture Room]
High Street.

Friday, 7th June, 8 pm

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND HUNGER

Speaker: D. Zucconi

Friday, 21st June, 8 pm

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND RACIALISM

Speaker: M. Judd

ISLINGTON MEETING

Co-op Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N7

[near Finsbury Park Tube]

Thursday, 27th June, 7.30 pm

THE SOCIALIST ANSWER TO YOUR HOUSING PROBLEM

BETHNAL GREEN LECTURE

Town Hall, Cambridge Heath Road, E2

Wednesday, 12th June, at 8 pm

THE SOCIALIST PARTY, CND AND THE BOMB

WEMBLEY LECTURES

Barham Old Court, Barham Park, Harrow Road, Wembley

Mondays 8 pm

June 10th

THE AFTERMATH OF THE COMMON MARKET

Speaker: E. Hardy

June 24th

FILM—NINE CENTURIES OF COAL

PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE MEETINGS

The Royal Oak, York Street
[near Marylebone Road], W1
Wednesdays, 8.30 pm

June 12th

DEBATE WITH SOUTH PADDINGTON LIBERALS

June 19th

WILL ATOMS SMASH US?

Speaker: H. Young

June 26th

MOTIVATION OF SOCIALISM

Speaker: R. Collins

July 3rd

MARXISM TODAY

Speaker: E. Hardy

improved methods of buying and selling has been the basic cause of speed in the modern world. Remove these social and economic factors for one of common ownership and mankind can revert to a more leisurely pace—and be the happier for it.

JACK LAW.

Building in Russia



DURING September and October, 1962, members of the Eastern Counties Federation of Building Trades Employers visited Russia and made a fairly extensive study of their building methods. Resulting from this visit, they have published a very revealing pamphlet, *Building in Russia*. They say:

"We believe we are the first group of British builders to examine the structure and organisation of the Soviet construction industry, our report covers a wide field, with the emphasis on housing. We hope it gives a broad but accurate picture of what we saw in a tour of some 6,000 miles extending from Leningrad, through Moscow to Volgograd in the South."

The British building trade unionist can, with this material, compare his wages and conditions with those of his brother in Russia.

In order to speed up housebuilding, emphasis has been placed on prefabricated factory built units, rather than the traditional brick-built house of this country. "The aim is to build compact residential areas with blocks of flats, 5, 8 and 10 storey, densities being on average 150 persons per acre. Two room flats predominate..."

As the State owns and controls all capital for construction, area building Trusts are formed to decide upon design and the price of each contract. The chief of the Trust and his managers then negotiate with the Unions to determine site conditions. However, with a fixed price for each job there is a definite limit to the pay which can be offered! This has an all too familiar ring; haggling with the boss for terms that would hardly satisfy the militant on most British building sites. For example bonus earnings up to 50 per cent. of wages can apparently be earned with an efficient Trust. In comparison, British Union agreements have often settled for a minimum of 20 per cent. of earnings, but where union organisation is strong on the building site, bonuses nearer 100 per cent. and over are expected and negotiated.

The State apparently fixes the wages, determines the amount of bonus to be earned and insists on a 3.7 per cent.

profit from all contracts finished at scheduled cost. When a profit is realised, an enterprise fund for the building worker within the Trust is formed, to be shared into workers' bonuses, housing and holiday facilities. Living conditions of the unfortunates who work for an inefficient Trust clearly reveal the unequal equality of Soviet "Socialism."

The standard of accommodation for the Russian working class is low compared with Britain's New Towns' traditional 2 and 3 bedroom terraced house. During 1964-1965, says the report, a suburb of Moscow will provide "90,000 people in flats, 10 per cent. of which will have one room, 60 per cent. 2, and 30 per cent. 3 rooms. Living rooms are used for sleeping in."

To speed up house production, the Soviet Government have mass housing projects, with strictly narrow limits of layout and design. They say that the housing problem will be solved by 1970. One thing, however, which has resulted is monotonous city suburbs which are "depressing and oppressive despite open spaces."

Building conditions for the wage earner under Soviet State and British private capitalism are so nearly alike that differences are hard to detect.

For a 40 hour week, typical wage rates in Moscow range from £6 per week (minimum) for labourers, £12 carpenters, £16 bricklayers to £20 for a general foreman and £40 for a building Trust manager. Lost time due to bad weather qualifies for half pay, whilst overtime qualifies for double time.

Building trade rates of pay in Britain are stated to be, at present, labourers £11 9s. and all skilled trades £12 7s. Soviet workers may pay less in rent which does not exceed 4 per cent. or 5 per cent. of the family income, but what they can purchase on commodities is small indeed. "Foodstuffs are two or three times dearer than in Britain, a poor quality suit costs £40, an overcoat £80 and a pair of shoes £15."

Perhaps the most important difference between the two industries concerns strikes and tea breaks. Whereas the British trade unions clearly recognise the vital need to withdraw labour in times of dispute, and take refreshments and rest for dirty and arduous tasks, Soviet

unions are denied these essential rights. The pamphlet drily comments "Tea breaks and strikes are not in the industrial vocabulary."

All these comparisons show only too clearly that capitalism functions in the Soviet Union, with a working class living on a very poor standard. Although it was not the object they had in mind, the building employers' pamphlet certainly exposes the claim that Socialism is enjoyed by building workers, or by any other workers, in Russia.

J. P.



From the SOCIALIST STANDARD
June 1913.

PROFIT SHARING

Co-partnership is the curative syrup for all capitalist ills just now. Fabians recommend it, Liberal and Tory newspapers have given it their blessing, and business men who have tried it are loud in their praises. It has a double effect in its application—it increases profits and stifles labour "unrest."

Some sociological and political experts, indeed, regard it as the solution, *par excellence*, for the labour troubles. The hard-headed, unscientific capitalist, who has "no soul above immediate profits," is, however, somewhat sceptical, and not without reason. For profit-sharing in at least one case was productive of labour trouble.

The instance in question was recounted at a fashionable gathering of co-partnership apostles, at Lord and Lady Brassey's, in Park Lane—a meeting arranged for the purpose of devising ways and means of sharing profits with the workers—something eminently desirable from the Park Lane point of view. One speaker said that he offered shares to his employees, one of whom took up a hundred. Next day in the workshop he remonstrated with a fellow workman for wasting the gas. The reply was: "Oh, there are too many blooming policemen about this business!" (just what we say) and the following day the whole of the employees struck work.

July 1963

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IN THIS ISSUE

The Profumo affair

Who speaks the truth?

The Pope is dead

What is patriotism?

Church faith and property

War in the air

A cool look at a hot potato

Facts about fish

A vivid picture of the East End

SOCIALIST STANDARD

Competence and judgment, but not honour, assail **MAC** is confident

MY HUSBAND by LADY DOROTHY Mr Profumo resigns over Miss Keeler

Sethacks welcomed for chance to add selected stocks

THE CRISIS—AND THE ROYAL FAMILY IN CHRISTINE NAME OF GOD, CC

MAC: Powell, Poole rally support for Macmillan

THE END

Girl who cost dearly

27 Tories defy Whips

Too many prostitutes and pimps in high places

Profumo will see the Queen at Palace

Wilson stalks the Premier, step by step

YARD PROBES WILD NEW RUMOURS

Stop this witch-hunt

Enoch Powell says: I shall back P.M.

LORD HAILSHAM'S TV ATTACK ON PROFUMO

Christine and the nuclear rockets

Hailsham kicks on

Rebel! Number 10 whips

WE ARE ALL TOGETHER IN THIS

THE MORAL ISSUES

A MARRIED man goes to bed with a Minister

THE CRISIS—AND THE ROYAL FAMILY

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WE ARE ALL TOGETHER IN THIS

THE MORAL ISSUES

A MARRIED man goes to bed with a Minister

The Profumo bombshell has shattered forever the sacred relic the conservatives have so carefully carried in the political baggage for so long—the idea that they alone are the Party who should rule because they are gentlemen, the personifications of all the noble traditions of high principle, strict morality, implicit honesty, and overwhelming trustworthiness.

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

SPGB Branches

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY 1st and 3rd Thursdays (4th & 18th July) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm. 5th July at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: 0EX 1950) and 19th July at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

GLASGOW Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Hall, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

HACKNEY 2nd & 4th Wednesdays in month 7.30 pm, Bathnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

SPGB Groups

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BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

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A NEW PAMPHLET

THE CASE FOR SOCIALISM

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NEWS IN REVIEW 104
The Profumo Affair
War in the air
Advertising for votes
The Pope is dead
Postscript on housing

THE IMPORTANCE OF MR. PROFUMO 106

A COOL LOOK AT A HOT POTATO 107

FINANCE & INDUSTRY 109

EX-FLYING OFFICER BOB 110

THE PASSING SHOW 111

BRANCH NEWS 112

WHAT IS PATRIOTISM? 113

LETTER FROM JAMAICA 114

CHURCH FAITH & PROPERTY 115

THROWING STONES 115

VIVID PICTURE OF EAST END 116

THE NEED FOR SOCIALISM 116

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN
The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings, etc., for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND
The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets 4th Sunday of each month at the Head Office, 5 Granville Buildings, 53 High Street, Belfast 1, at 3.30 pm. Next meeting July 28th.

THE PROFUMO AFFAIR

What a show of pretence and hypocrisy

Yet another political scandal has hit the headlines. Mr. Profumo's indiscretions are only the latest in a long line of such extra-curricular activities on the part of our elected representatives but, unlike most of the others, he failed to keep his indiscretions discreet.

His confession and resignation have left the Conservative Party in confusion and the Labour Party cock-a-hoop. The latter, of course, can hardly go wrong as long as they don't overplay their hand and show their glee too openly. It is enough for them, whilst fervently protesting that they are not in the least concerned with Mr. Profumo's sexual behaviour, to keep the pot quietly simmering with expressions of deep and distressed concern for the country's security.

As for the Conservative Party, they are quite demoralised, in spite of all Mr. Macmillan's efforts to pull them together. Following upon all the other distasteful events of recent months, the new bombshell has shattered for ever the sacred relic they have so carefully carried in their political baggage for so long — the idea that they alone are the Party who should rule because they are gentlemen, the personifications of all the noble traditions of high principle, strict morality, implicit honesty, and overwhelming trustworthiness.

The sensation-mongering Press, after taking a bad beating over the Vassall case, are back in full cry. Miss Keeler got what is reported to be £15,000 from the *News of the World* for her confessions, and was also well paid by the *Sunday Mirror* for her letter from Mr. Profumo. No doubt more large sums are in the offing for her and others in the case. At the same time, it is disclosed that the actual facts were known to many sections of the Press even when Mr. Profumo was making his denials last March, but that they all chose to keep quiet about them. Not, be it added, because of scruples about Mr. Profumo, but because they were afraid of losing some money in libel damages. So much for the boasts they periodically give us about telling the truth at any price.

Large sections of the public, of course, put on their usual show of shocked protest whilst fervently perusing every hard-bought detail the newspapers provided for them. One of the choicer blooms of the British cultural scene, the weekly ration of spice, scandal, and snigger, flowered brighter than ever.

What a show of pretence and hypocrisy it all is. The capitalist political parties all play the game of setting up their leaders as men apart—as people of greater intelligence, higher principles, stricter morals, than the common herd. The working class accept all this, and even grow to believe it, in return for lots of nice, fat promises to have things done for them and the relief of not having to think for themselves.

All sorts of people are drawing all sorts of implications from the Profumo case. But for Socialists, its chief importance lies in the way it reflects, yet again, the cynicism and hypocrisy of the capitalist parties and their system, and the political laziness and ignorance of the working class who support it all and refuse to take action to get rid of it.

THE NEWS IN REVIEW

The Profumo affair

IT WAS in the May SOCIALIST STANDARD, at a time when Mr. Profumo's strenuous protestations of the innocence of his relationships with Christine Keeler still held public water, that we pointed out how unimportant are the personal morals of the administrators of capitalism.

Now that Profumo has come clean, and now that we have been treated to the squalid detail of the Argyll divorce case, what we said in May still stands. With something to be added.

The rather nasty stories have lifted a corner of the curtain on a life which is completely foreign to most workers.

The life of rich houses, glamorous holidays, expensive women and powerful men. Of easy luxury and sophistication.

The life, in fact, of people who can dedicate their lives to what they conceive as living.

Which is something very foreign to most members of the working class, who are only the people who make possible the lives of luxury and glamour.

Profumo was a member of a capitalist government and capitalism teaches us, when we are children in school and when we are grown up enough to read its journalism, that the basis of morality is monogamy.

Many workers absorb this teaching and, no matter what it costs them in terms of personal strain, conform to it. Others conform because they cannot afford to do anything else. Promiscuity

can be a costly business.

It can also be a tragic business, for workers. Only recently *The Observer* ran a series on illegitimate children in this country, which showed up the sadness of many unmarried mothers who are forced by their circumstances to give up their babies when they desperately want to keep them.

This sort of tragedy need never happen to rich people who are also promiscuous. They have no trouble in taking care of any number of children, "legitimate" or no.

In more ways than one, capitalism is a sordid, inhuman social system in which only the ruling class are free.



War in the air

The early railways fought each other tooth and nail for freight and passengers, often taking enormous physical and economic risks in the process. In the same way, the great airlines are currently coming to grips over the pickings to be had on the world's busy airlines.

For some time, the American transatlantic carriers have been fighting the rest—and particularly Britain—over fares and cargo rates. This provoked the recent crisis in which British airports were on the point of being closed to Pan American and Trans World aircraft; something which was averted only when the American Civil Aviation Board made a temporary climb down. The situation

remains threatening.

And now the war is hotting up in the freight carriers.

BOAC has been happily operating piston engined freighters across the Atlantic and had no immediate intention of spending any more millions on jets to speed up this service.

This intention has been upset by Pan American's opening of the first all jet freight service, over both the Atlantic and the Pacific. Fast and capacious, the Boeing freighters have started an air cargo sales war which may, as in the case of passenger traffic, develop into a rate war.

If this happens, we shall probably see every airline which aspires to a place in the sun on the transatlantic run being forced to buy aircraft which they cannot afford, do not want, and which they often have to send off only half full of cargo. We may see countless aircraft which have plenty of useful life in them being scrapped or sold off for a song. And perhaps we shall see the airlines taking the same sort of physical risks which the primitive, battling railways took.

Competition, we are often being told, is one of capitalism's health-giving substances. In fact, just like the other features of the all-wasteful society, it is a ludicrous way of running human affairs.



Advertising for votes

Do you vote for capitalism? You do? Well, how does it feel like to be in somebody's sights? You should know—both the big parties are now drawing a bead on you.

You have probably seen the big spread ads. which the Tories have been taking in the papers. You have probably heard

that the Labour Party is indignant about where the money comes from, and you may have reflected that this argument has lost a lot of its point since Labour started putting out its own big ads.

These are part of a very expensive campaign. And it is all aimed at you.

The Tory ads, are punchy, with facts

and figures about the roads they will lay down, the hospitals they will put up, and so on. If only, that is, you will give them the chance. Has it struck you as strange that after twelve years of Conservative paradise there are still no new hospitals in this country and the roads are still in a mess?

The Labour ads. are perhaps rather more airy, with some distant ideals of justice and equality—and Mr. Wilson just caught in the act of almost giving the new Labour thumbs-up sign. Labour has to go easy on the facts and figures. Their own record is pretty awful and to say too emphatically that there is anything wrong with Britain today leaves them open to the countercharge of running down the old country, dammit. That wouldn't go down with a patriotic voter

like you, would it? So Labour puts in the plea that everything could be all right. If only you give them the chance.

And will you? The big parties are lashing out the thousands in an effort to persuade you to put them in charge of British capitalism. But whoever gets that job will make no difference; the black spots which capitalism makes will remain unerasable.

The tragedy is that the ballyhoo, the big splash, is what so often counts.

The Pope is dead

Pope John died when, just before the Profumo scandal burst, news was in short supply. Especially the juicy "human interest" sort of news on which the popular press thrives. On thin rations, the papers made the most of the drawn out death agonies. Some of the headlines were almost ghoulish.

This gave us a peep at one of the nastiest sides of capitalism—the side which works for a profit out of human suffering, even when it is the suffering of one of the great upholders of property society.

Not only reporters rushed to say nice things about John XXIII. Bertrand Russell, a professed non-believer, echoed the popular estimation of the dead Pontiff

as a man of peace:

The Pope used his office and his energy to bring peace and to oppose policies which lead to war and mass murder. His encyclical is a magnificent statement of the deepest wishes and hopes of all men of decency . . . I mourn his death.

There is, indeed, some rather tenuous evidence that the dead Pope was prepared to act as some sort of a go-between in a new world carve-up by the United States and Russia. This is the sort of diplomatic dabbling which often qualifies all sorts of people for the description of "peace loving."

But this holds good only in peacetime. We know that, just like his predecessors,

The Socialist Party of Great Britain cannot afford expensive publicity campaigns and indeed has to bleed itself merely to run one or two candidates in an election. Yet only Socialism can give us the sane world which most people, somehow, are looking for.

Remember that, when you read the next big ad. Remember it when you vote. They've got you in their sights but, in a way, you are the one who pulls the trigger.

the Pope would have done nothing to oppose a future war and that in such a war there could well be Catholics on both sides, killing each other.

Thus does capitalism make warriors of them all.

In any case, modern war has nothing to do with a supposed lack of men of peace among the world's leaders. Capitalism itself causes war and the leaders always go along on the tide of destruction.

And let all peace lovers remember that capitalism has always done well out of the servile ignorance of the religious, and especially of the Church of which John XXIII was so briefly the Vicar Supreme.

Postscript on housing

Of all the people to write a postscript to the special issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD on housing last May, it had to be the Minister of Housing himself, Sir Keith Joseph.

The last few days of that month gave birth to yet another White Paper which is supposed to be going to solve the housing problem. ("... promises," commented *The Observer*, "borne on fairly insubstantial wings.")

The new plan is to give housing subsidies only where the government thinks they are needed. Thus is quietly killed off the old policy (which was also going to solve the problem) of giving subsidies virtually indiscriminately. How long

before the latest plan is pronounced to have failed?

There will be a bit more entertainment from the government's financial jugglers; £100 million is intended to be available to encourage the building of houses for rent. From the merry shouts of welcome which greeted this announcement, nobody would have thought that these were the very policies which, in one form or another, have failed so blatantly in the past.

And, of course, the government will be speeding up slum clearance and will build more houses. The happy day when everyone will be living in what Housing Ministers think is a decent home has had

to be postponed for a bit more, what with all this planning. Actually, it has been put off for another ten years. Said Sir Keith:

This programme will within 10 years transform the country's housing position, and will bring within reach of nearly every citizen in the land either a modern or a modernised house.

Presumably the Tories are hoping to win a few votes on this programme. Perhaps they will. It would not be the first time the working class have been hopelessly deceived about one of the ways in which capitalism blights their lives.

PARLIAMENTARY FUND

It is the Party's intention to contest three constituencies at the next General Election. The expense will be considerable and our coffers are empty. Full information will be published later, but meanwhile readers are urgently requested to send donations to the Party. Cheques, P.O.'s, etc. should be crossed, payable to the SPGB, Parliamentary Fund, and sent to the treasurer, E. Lake, SPGB, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

P. Howard (Party Funds organiser)

WHO TELLS THE TRUTH?

The importance of Mr. Profumo

It was the *Daily Express* which pointed out, quickly, cruelly, that *profumo* is the Italian word meaning perfume. But the famous scandal sticks in a way undreamt of in the philosophies of big newspapers.

Now Profumo's "sin," for the Tories, was not just that he was running a mistress. That was bad enough, but there have been some famous precedents who have got away with the same thing. It was not even that the girl was being shared with a Russian intelligence agent and at least a couple of others, although that was enough to wilt the flowers on the starchiest of hats at a Conservative women's fete. What really put Profumo beyond the pale was that he admitted to telling a lie. Not a lie to just anyone, but to the House of Commons, which is supposed to be an assembly of gentlemen and where it is the tradition not to question nor debate personal statements like Profumo's original assertion of his innocence. This was what Robert McKenzie called a kick in the stomach for the Tories, who have always liked to think of themselves as the party of better people, of Christian gentlemen.

It was the lie which gave Lord Hailsham the excuse for his fireworks in his TV interview with McKenzie, when he blasted Profumo as a man who has "lied and lied and lied" and insisted that the whole affair was a moral issue. Hailsham is well known as a Tory moralist, a strict Christian who professes unshakeable principles. So is another central figure in the drama surrounding the government crisis—Enoch Powell. The hullabaloo over Profumo has served to make these men—and others like them—heroes of integrity. The inference we are invited to draw is that generally capitalism administered by the sort of men who would never tell a lie and that Profumo was just the inevitable bad apple.

Alright. Let us have a look at this business of lies. And if we do, the first thing to hit us is that political history is crammed with examples of men who, as a matter of course, have told enormous lies yet have never been accused of being liars. Some of them, in fact, have died as respected pillars of capitalist society. Stafford Cripps, for example, was the very caricature of an ascetic moralist. Strict vegetarian. Fervent Christian. Like Enoch Powell, he was supposed to be a man who stood for principle before everything. Did Cripps, then, never tell a lie? We need nudge our memories only a little to recall that in 1949 he protested for weeks that he had no intention of devaluing sterling, while all the time his plans for devaluation were cut and dried. There are plenty of other examples of Cripps' flexible reverence for the truth.

The Tories are not, of course, untarnished by this brush. Hailsham and Powell are only two of those who were unprotesting members of the Eden government which embarked on the Suez fiasco. They apparently held their consciences in check when their government broke its word to the United Nations and justified the invasion by what were quickly revealed as blatant lies. More recently the same government has been what we can politely call less than frank over the deportation of Doctor Soblen and of Chief Enahoro. In fact, in a more subtle way, Christine Keeler is not the only matter on which Profumo has been dishonest, although on these issues

his ex-colleagues in the government would never dream of calling him rude names. As Minister of War, Profumo bore the ultimate responsibility for the big publicity campaign to persuade people to join the Army. The advertisements used in this campaign showed such a one-sided view of Army life that even some newspapers felt moved to protest. Profumo's ads, showed clean-living young men playing rugby, climbing mountains, patrolling romantic deserts. They did not hint that military discipline, in its dreary stupidities, is designed to degrade and brutalise men. They did not mention the unpleasant places a soldier may be sent to, nor the dirty jobs he may have to do there. They ignored the fact that soldiers often die especially horrible deaths, looking not at all like clean living Soldiers of the Queen as they do so. The advertisements told lies, but nobody in the government got upset with Profumo because of that.

Neither have they been upset by the lies about, say, the effects of testing nuclear weapons. The government assure us that the danger from these exercises is negligible and that another little test will not do us any harm. Yet they know perfectly well that every test adds to the atmosphere's load of radioactivity and that this means that a lot of people, especially children, will die who would otherwise have lived. Overseas, as well, lies are told on this matter. President Kennedy has recently announced that his government will suspend all tests, unless some other country starts them up again. This may well be followed, as it was in 1958, by a similar announcement from Moscow. Both sides will pose as the guardians of peace and human safety. Yet both sides know that a suspension of tests does not mean that the development of nuclear weapons has been suspended. They know that they are all working on their bombs and that when they think it is to their advantage to do so they will think up some reason to start testing them again. Are Kennedy and Khrushchev, then, champions of truth?

It would, indeed, be surprising if men in their position were, for they administer a social system which is full of lies, and not only those told by politicians. Were the makers of thalidomide telling the truth when they asserted that the drug could safely be taken by pregnant women? What sort of principle were they upholding, when they protested that the delay in the American Food and Drug Administration approving thalidomide was costing them their chance of exploiting a Christmas market? Do the mass-production tailors believe their own advertisements, which show aristocratic young men being admired by glamorous girls for the cheap off-the-peg outfit they are wearing? Are the estate agents who advertise a cramped, poky apology for a house as "neat and compact" and a garden with knee-high weeds as "mature" keen churchgoers who regularly say their prayers?

We know what grounds these lies are excused on. We know that capitalism claims that strategic and commercial reasons justify telling lies. As R. A. Butler said about the Cripps lie, "... I know that if you talked about devaluing the currency well ahead of time, you would do indefinite damage to your own currency. ..." But they cannot have it both ways. Capitalism professes to work on a basis of morality;

workers are taught from the very beginning that the road to Heaven is paved with honesty and high principles. Yet capitalism admits that its own interests force it to deny these principles. And since when have the sort of morals propounded so often by capitalism's leaders been relative, adaptable, matters of expediency? A lie, after all, is a lie under any circumstances. No, they cannot have it both ways, although over Profumo that is how they have tried to have it.

Imagine a politician who told the truth! A Minister of Housing who admitted that he could not solve the housing problem! A Foreign Secretary who blew the gaff on every double-crossing international carve up as soon as he had made it! A Chancellor of the Exchequer who introduced his Budget with the admission that it was just a rehash of a lot of ideas which had flopped in the past! If that happened nobody would get involved in a scandal. There would be a dignified resignation, surrounded by sorrowful stories of tiredness, strain and mental breakdown.

Profumo told a rather foolish and, for him, a risky lie. But at least it was a lie about his personal life, a lie which involved only a very few people. In contrast, day after day capitalism

goes on turning out lies which affect the welfare and in many cases the very lives of millions of people. What is more, those lies play their part in bolstering the social system which degrades and depresses the majority—the only socially useful people—the working class.

No minister gets worked up about that. There are no top level inquiries, no resignations, nothing on television. In cases like the Profumo scandal the working class are supposed to be content with a mixed diet of salacity and hypocritical moralising. The same newspapers which got indignant over Profumo's lie saw nothing wrong in paying thousands of pounds for Christine Keeler's story, nor in publishing photographs of her which we will describe—and not for want of a better word—as arresting.

It will be tragic if in among this smoke screen of hypocrisy and scandal the essential fact is lost sight of. Let us state it here, quickly and simply.

Lies are essential to capitalism and super moralists like Lord Hailsham know it. And capitalism itself is the biggest lie of all.

IVAN.

A long, cool look at a hot potato

POLITICALLY speaking, the issue of full employment has become a very hot potato. Ever since post-war capitalism pulled out the first of its many surprises by not going into the deep slumps which were such a feature before 1939, governments have trod carefully, thinking perhaps that a couple of million unemployed would mean the end of their term of power. (Although if they do think like this they may be over-pessimistic. Despite the heavy unemployment between the wars, the working class never got around to challenging capitalism; indeed, in 1939 they were preparing for yet another slump under yet another Conservative government.) Inevitably, Chancellors of the Exchequer have churned out many soothing speeches on the theme that the jobs of the working class are safe in their hands. Then can even produce that old and faithful ally Statistics to prove their point. Yes, a hot potato.

And why? It is obvious that employment is important to the working class under capitalism for the simple reason (and we shall have more to say on this) that they depend on their jobs for their living. But the matter does not end there. For so many workers their employment is more than that. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that they almost deify the company they work for. Listen to them talk about it: "My Job"; "My Company." You can almost hear the capitals. If employment is important to the working class, if it is a delicate political issue, it can be because a depressingly high proportion of workers ask for nothing much more from life than the chance to live in servitude.

In these circumstances it is only to be expected that there would be a lot of wrong thinking about employment. In the first place, about "full" employment. Recently, the newspapers, the novelists, film directors, TV men, and so on, have made the startling discovery that in many industries and in many parts of the country full employment is a sour joke. In the shipbuilding industry, for example, and in the towns where the shipyards are based. Day by day, gloomy reports come in from the yards. Employment is low. Orders are scarce.

Some yards are completing what they fear may be their last work for a long time. A few small yards have had to shut down.

In the second place, a lot of nonsense is often talked when unemployment is in prospect, and it is not only the politicians who are to blame here. Consider again the shipbuilding industry and the recent decision of the Court Line to order a big tanker from a Japanese shipyard. Court Line is a British company, although the tanker is for a subsidiary of theirs in the Bahamas. Nobody needed to be a clairvoyant to forecast that the placing of this order abroad would provoke strong protests and sure enough that rumbustious fellow, Mr. Ted Hill, secretary of the Boilermakers' union, satisfied our expectations. This was, he said, a "... wrong to the British workers." And more specifically: "Any British shipowner who places an order in Japan is un-British."

Mr. Hill did not tell us, at the same time, what he thought of foreign shipowners who have their ships built in British yards. The Sunderland yard of Joseph L. Thompson & Son, Ltd., for example, recently completed the 24,500 ton bulk carrier *Kolfinn* for an Oslo firm. This was the fiftieth vessel built by the yard for Norwegian owners; their next launch will be an 80,000 ton tanker for Fred Olsen & Co., Ltd., also of Oslo. Mr. Hill did not comment that it was un-Norwegian of Olsens to place their orders on the Wear instead of using them to develop their own shipbuilding industry. Neither did he say that it was un-Russian of the Soviet government, when they recently invited tenders from British yards—among others—for six fishmeal factory ships.

Mr. Hill's brand of nationalism is very much a have-your-cake-and-eat-it affair, with the added complication that he is not the only one to be after the cake. When the Russians put out the fishmeal ships for tender, there were signs that the British government were considering swapping an order for Russian oil for the contract to build the ships. This may have pleased the boilermakers, but it upset the miners, who regard

every drop of oil as a threat to their jobs. Mr. Sidney Ford, president of the National Union of Mineworkers, described the oil-for-ships deal as "ridiculous." "This cannot," he said, "be a good thing for the coal industry."

And while all this rumpus is going on, capitalism continues on its way, as serenely as it may. For capitalism, once we accept its basic, chaotic illogicality (and that is what trade union leaders have done) has its own orderly logic for its actions. Court Line did not give its order to Japan to cock a snook at British shipbuilding. They protested that they had made every effort to get their ship built in a United Kingdom yard. But:

It was found, with sincere regret, that British prices and credit terms for this type of vessel resulted in an uncompetitive unit when compared with the offers received from abroad. Had the order not been placed in Japan, no ship would have been contracted at all.

Court Line, in fact, are taking advantage of the low shipbuilding prices which are resulting from the current battle between Swedish and Japanese yards and are gambling that the recent rise in tanker freight rates will still be effective when they take delivery of their new tanker. From their point of view it was reasonable to place the order abroad; the economic requirements of capitalism saw to that. In the same way it was reasonable for the Soviet government to put Mr. Ford's mind at rest by ordering their fishmeal ships from Sweden. They got a good price, a promise of quick delivery and generous credit terms. What more does any capitalist concern ask for?

Capitalism, because of its insistence on the profitability of an enterprise, is often bound to make life difficult for anyone who preaches economic nationalism, whether they do so in the board room or a trade union conference hall. For the working class, it goes even deeper. Last May, an American trade union leader on a visit to this country uncovered an example of the use which the employers can make of working class nationalism. He was Mr. Ben Segal, the director of international affairs in the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. This is how *The Guardian* of May 17th reported him:

... General Electric, the American company, had pointed out to their own unions the dangers of lower standards in Japan, but ... it was found that their own international company was the largest stockholder in Toshiba, one of the principal manufacturers of electronic products in Japan.

Nobody need get indignant about this. A nationalistic working class are wide open to the smooth operator.

The big point in this is that capitalism has split its population into two and of these two it is the working class who need to get a job to live. But merely finding employment does not mean that a worker has solved his problems; indeed, so often it is the people with the better jobs who suffer the most strain. And even when he is earning a steady wage, the worker always finds that he lives under restrictions and that the cloth available to him allows only the skimpiest of coats to be cut.

Let us pile it on a bit more. A worker only gets a job when his employer can make a profit from his labours. If, for any one of a number of reasons, the profit is not there then very often neither is the job. This is why workers are so often interested in their employers finding markets for their goods. It is why shipyard workers agree with Ted Hill raving about

"un-British" shipbuilders on one side, and on the other miners agree with Sidney Ford snapping about "ridiculous" international trading deals. In another way, it is why workers in the North want industry diverted to them from other areas. It never seems to strike them that this is the most futile tinkering with the problem and that the very best that they can hope for is to keep themselves in a job while another worker somewhere else gets the sack. Employment, of course, is the great dream of the working class; to many of them a regular job is the sun and the moon. What a measly outlook! For the only difference between employment and unemployment is often that between one degree of poverty and another.

Until the working class have grasped this fact, capitalism will continue, and so will its anomalies and stupidities. Industries will continue to boom and to slump and if they are industries like shipbuilding the slumps will cause some concentrated suffering in the areas which live off the industry. For capitalism makes its wealth in order to sell it, and this applies to ships just as it does to anything else. When conditions look good for selling cargo space, the tendency is for a lot of ships to be built. This in itself can mean that the market becomes restricted, helped perhaps by something like a decline in general international trade. This is what defeats gambles like that which Court Line are making over their new tanker. Too many ships compete for a limited market. Ships are laid up (there are over 500 like that at the moment). Shipyards slump and whatever help they may get from their governments (a £30 million fund was recently announced by the British government to aid shipbuilding) can have little effect on the problem.

This is something like the situation today. The chairman of the Houlder Brothers shipping line described it like this in his last report to the shareholders:

... instead of reaping the benefit of the expansion in world trade, the shipowners of the world have robbed themselves of that benefit by excessive building of new ships.

This excessive building has been stimulated by ... over optimism generated by the prosperity of previous years ... unhealthy encouragement imparted by tax considerations in some foreign countries and ... the building up of national fleets based on policy unrelated to commercial considerations.

There speaks an authentic voice of capitalism, unconsciously displaying the system's crass anarchy. For no economist, no managing director, no minister, has yet been able accurately to predict the course of capitalism's markets. But all of them must go out on some sort of a limb and take their chance on beating their rivals into a market. British shipbuilding may be groggy on the ropes but it is still in there punching, even if rather weaker than before. Camell Laird's chairman said in his last report: "... we have intensified our efforts to attract business from overseas. We shall pursue relentlessly and vigorously all potential business at home and overseas. ..."

Cheers, almost certainly, from the Camell Laird workers. Cheers, for sure, from their shareholders. Employment may be a tricky issue for capitalism and there may be a lot of nonsense talked about it. But the worst thing of all is that the nonsense usually persuades the workers that their interests are hand in glove with those of their employers and this delays the day when the world can take a long, cool look at itself. And come up with the right answers.

IVAN.

PARLIAMENTARY FUND

Please send your donations to the SPGB, Parliamentary Fund, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4. We intend to contest three constituencies at the next General Election; our coffers are empty, and time is short.

FINANCE AND INDUSTRY

Enter the trading stamp

In this present world of ours, goods are produced for sale. To enable things to be sold, a whole complicated network of distribution has grown up, involving wholesalers (first, second, and the rest), retailers, hire purchase companies, credit firms, discount houses, as well as sundry other middlemen and hangers-on. Each of these takes his cut, which naturally he tries to make as large as possible, from the process whereby the articles of life find their weary way from the factory to the consumer.

Now yet another group of middlemen are trying to muscle in the trading stamp companies. They are not, of course, entirely new to this country, but so far they have not played much of a role. In the United States, on the other hand, they have become big business and

some of the American firms are now invading Britain.

Arguments are already heated about whether the consumer really gains anything from trading stamps. Some observers say that he does and that it is the retailer who does not give stamps who suffers by losing his trade to his competitor who does give them. Others say that American experience shows that the consumer may benefit slightly at the beginning but that later he will be no better off because more and more retailers will go over to the stamps and add their cost to their selling prices. They allege that this has already happened in the U.S., where the net result of the trading stamp boom has been to put up retail prices to the point where what the consumer gets back in stamps he pays for in higher prices.

Competition goes supersonic

Things look like moving faster than ever in the air world. And we don't mean only aeroplanes. The prospect of lots of extra supersonic bangs before long is going to disturb more than the sleep of those unfortunate to live too close to airports. Lots of airline operators, as well as politicians, are already reaching for the tranquillisers. Everything seems ready for yet a further round of waste, muddle, and stupidity in the international air industry.

Pan-American's decision to order six Anglo-French *Concorde*s took only 24 hours to squeeze an announcement from President Kennedy that the United States were going to build an even faster plane. The staggering sum of \$750 million has been mentioned as a likely cost.

The *Concord* venture is being supported by the British and French Governments to the tune of £75 million from each. The final cost may well be more. All the purpose of all this vast expenditure of wealth? To enable a microscopic few of the world's inhabitants to

cross the Atlantic in three hours or get to Australia in half a day.

All this against a background of waste and absurdity in which the great majority of the airline companies are already losing money and where the pace of competition is so hot that large numbers of perfectly good aircraft are discarded with years of useful life in them. So fierce is the drive for speed that many of the world's airports are no longer really capable of coping with the planes. Now all the sorry story over jets seems likely to be repeated with supersonic aircraft.

Not all the experts are happy about the new development. Lord Brabazon is one. Instead of "promoting air transport for the peoples of the world," he has said, "the airlines have simply helped the rich to travel vast distances at very high speed and cost." And, he added, "A big machine carrying 200 people in comparative comfort at up to 250 m.p.h., but landing at no more than 60 knots should be safe, welcome, and pay."

But Lord Brabazon, more than most,

But all this is really beside the point. Whether the consumer gets a small advantage at the expense of the retailer, or the latter makes it up by higher prices, it only serves to conceal that all that has happened is that yet another set of middlemen has managed to get into the act, getting a nice fat rake-off for doing something which is utterly useless from the point of view of actual production.

It really amazes us sometimes the way people will dismiss Socialism as utopian, but accept all the idiocies of capitalism as normal and reasonable. Not one ounce of extra wealth is produced from the activities of the trading stamp companies; the only result is to sharpen the struggle over the profit derived from what has actually been produced.



should know that his appeal will go unheeded. Air transport and aircraft construction are no longer the concern of private capitalists, but have become wards of the state. In general, they now make no more sense, even from the capitalist economic viewpoint, than the vast industries that have grown up to throw rockets into space. They have become part and parcel of the struggle between national groups, in which the various governments are prepared to go into all sorts of projects, spend vast amounts of money, engage in ridiculous competition with each other. They are a supreme example of the tendency of the units of capitalism to get bigger; in the air it is no longer the private capitalists that fight each other, it is their national states. Behind every aircraft company there are state subsidies, government orders, and national military needs.

No, the *Concord* was not well-named. *Discord* would have been more appropriate.

continued over

Facts about fish

A recent report from F.A.O. reveals that 1961 saw the world's highest production of fish—just over 41 million tons. This shows an increase of 10 million tons, or 30 per cent., over the total catch in 1957, but the picture is really not as optimistic as it looks.

Most of the increase is the result of a phenomenal rise in Peruvian production—of small anchovies processed into animal feed. Apart from this and a modest rise in the Chinese catch, world production has remained virtually static. Indeed, the alarms are already sounding of a likely decrease in production as the well-known fishing grounds become depleted. The boats get bigger, their engines more powerful, and their range ever-wider, but the catch tends to get smaller. Competition has led to over-

fishing.

But, as usual, the paradox of production under capitalism discloses that there are still many more fish in the sea than ever come out of it; of the sea's possible production, 90 per cent. is still left untouched. And even under present conditions, F.A.O. reckons that the total world catch could be doubled without too much danger to stocks. Today, 80 per cent. of total production is caught north of the Equator; the southern seas are almost unfished.

Capitalism will itself see to it that the oceans of the world give up more of their riches. But progress will as usual be slow and wasteful. The trawlers of dozens of countries will continue to compete fiercely with each other; will set out to fish over the same grounds; will spend

useless weeks at sea, some of them, before reaching fishing areas which the trawlers of other countries can reach in a quarter of the time. There will still be disputes over international rights; over 3 mile, 6 mile, 12 mile limits; prices will still be subject to catastrophic fluctuations. Over all will remain the constant threat of overfishing.

Even in this situation, F.A.O. tries to introduce a little order and co-operation, but competing self-interests foredoom its efforts to failure. What is required is the harmonious, organised and co-operative development of research and productive techniques to provide a steady, reliable, and efficient production of food from the sea.

But we shall not get that under capitalism.

S. H.



PEOPLE YOU KNOW

Ex-Flying Officer Bob

HE LIKES to be known by the popular, friendly, the "good company" name of "Bob." The youngest and favourite son of respectable, godly parents, Bob, during his schooldays, was drawn into the boy scout movement. As a scout he learned how to tie a variety of knots, to fix up tents, to do wonders with a jack-knife, and to light fires without matches or lighters. He also learned the virtue of perpetual preparedness—of preparedness, in particular, for working hard and for defending one's country in peril. For was not loyal and willing service, in peace or war, a right and bounden duty?

It cannot be said that there was much glory in the various occupations by which Bob sought a living in the years preceding the second World War. Each was marked by its particular brand of stultification—smelly, unhealthy surroundings; tedious mechanical operations; arduous back-aching toil. All were paid at the lowest possible rates. And, ironically enough, in all these loathsome occupations were ex-servicemen of World War One who, no doubt, had grown tired of trying to reconcile their miserable conditions with the great "fruits of victory" that once they were promised.

Not that Bob saw anomalies in the

scene—he had never dreamt of looking for them. Uppermost in his consciousness was a smugness that saw no need for questioning, for seeking to know things which in any case could not improve the serenity of outlook that already was his. Pleasing enough for him that he had once been a perfect "true blue" scout: that now, on the verge of manhood, he was helping in his own way to maintain the greatness of England.

The outbreak of war found Bob more than eager to give his services. Disdaining to wait for his calling-up papers, he hastened to enlist. He preferred, somehow, that his entry into the heroic arena should be through the Air Force—the Army and Navy, it was whispered, attracted the more common elements. And so Bob joined the R.A.F., to spend the following months learning to fly, to make parachute landings, and to drop bombs accurately on given targets. At last, fully trained, and raised to the rank of Flying Officer, he engaged in a number of "ops" over Germany—most of them highly successful in the way of "enemy destruction."

The war ended and he was demobilised. He had "done his bit." Proud and self-assured, he came back to the

daily hawking of his energies in order to live. But not for him now the grimy, sweating, low-paid toil of his pre-war years. The "la-de-dah" and practiced glibness of his fellow flying officers, the swanking discourse of the Officers' Mess, the studied preservation of "superior" manners—these and other things had made of Bob an easy persuasive talker capable, in not too discerning company, of impressing and convincing. He became a commercial traveller with a salary of £1,000 a year.

He remains so today. But Bob is now a married man with three young children. His job demands that he should always be well-dressed and smart, that he should have a handsome car and a reasonably "posh" residence. All this, and the hire-purchase payments by which he is still paying for his furniture, he finds just a little beyond the purchasing power of his present £1,500 per annum salary.

Bob has not completely severed his connection with the R.A.F. Besides regularly attending the annual Air Force reunion dinners, he is the commander in the local Air Training Corps. Through the latter he helps to make fliers, parachutists and air-bombers of the future.

This is the Bob of today. By nature he



is, in his way, a man of integrity and goodwill. His trouble is that he has never looked into himself or into the world around him. He does not know, therefore, that despite his innate worthiness, his outlook and his conduct have made of him an anti-social being. He has never questioned, let alone discovered, the mockery of the "national glory" that had been part of his childhood teaching. Had he done so, he might have rejected the patriotic concepts that were later to lead him to a proud acceptance of atrocious working conditions.

He might also have suspected the capitalistic commercial nature of the war into which he eagerly rushed in the belief that, just as his masters said, here was a war

of British right against German wrong; a war for "our" country's survival; a war for the preservation of democracy. He may even have felt revulsion at the thought of teaching callow adolescents how best to engage in war from the air, how best to kill on a wholesale scale—and all on behalf of a privileged few whose competitive interests are war's real cause.

One of the most deplorable features of Bob's case is that he failed to learn from his own personal experience the fallacy of his national pride. There was nothing of which he could be proud in subservience, ill-pay, loathsome conditions, and a shackling to the treadmill by economic necessity. And even on his present

£1,500 a year, Bob, were he logical, could feel no pride in the enforced daily pushing of travellers' lines, the flowery representations, the "switched-on" charm and the many other humanly degrading devices of the commercial traveller. And this quite apart from the indignity and anxiety of a continued indebtedness to hire-purchase firms.

The tragedy of Bob is that he has allowed himself to be moulded exactly to the pattern desired by his capitalist masters, or, at least, by the various elements that represent capitalist interests. How thankful must be these people that the working class has so many like him!

F. HAWKINS.

THE PASSING SHOW

Social revolution in Japan

UNDER the above heading *The Times* told us recently of changes in Japan brought about by the war. But if the reader expects to learn that the wealth producers, the Japanese workers, have taken over, he will be disappointed though he should not be surprised. What in fact the article deals with primarily is the rise of new propertied group and families in place of the old.

The richest man in Japan has an income of 440m. yen (£440,000) a year. He is Mr. Konosuke Matsushita, chairman of the Matsushita Electric Industrial Company. His declared income is nearly twice as large as that of anyone else in the country. According to figures based on tax returns for 1962, the 20 richest men in Japan have incomes ranging from £121,000 to £440,000. All but one are industrialists. Some of the names in the list are almost unknown to the general public and the famous pre-war names—Iwasaki (founders of the Mitsubishi combine), Okura, Mitsui and Sumitomo—do not appear anywhere.

Of course, there has been no social revolution for the other Japanese, those whose names are always unknown. The latest figures published by the International Labour Office show average earnings in Japanese manufacturing industries, "including family allowances and end-of-year bonuses," as 22,834 Yen, or about £22 16s. 8d. a month.

Bigger and Fewer Breweries

OFFICIAL figures published in the April issue of *Economic Trends* showed how far take-overs have gone in industry as a whole. In eight years, 1954-1961, £1,600 million was spent on take-over bids, but of this total nearly half came from the 98 companies each with assets of £25 million or more, though they represent only a tiny proportion of the 2,600 companies whose shares are quoted on the Stock Exchanges of this century. Altogether 3,400 companies were taken over (most of them not quoted on the stock exchange).

One industry in which amalgamation has gone far, but with more to come, is the brewing industry.



In place of a multiplicity of breweries many of them small and local, a writer in the *Financial Times* (May 25) writes of the industry now being dominated by six major groups.

What the boards aimed to achieve by take-overs was to consolidate brewing and distribution in large regions and thus achieve big economies and larger profits. Local breweries are being closed down and a considerable number of the local "milds, bitters and light ales" are disappearing. "no longer worth producing in small quantities." Standardisation of a smaller number of nationally advertised brews is the order of the day for capitalism in brewing. It is ironic to recall the old argument against Socialism that it would deprive us of the variety of choice that capitalism gave us. Maybe the local varieties were no better (or worse) than the TV advertised popular brands, but that is not what drinkers were told before the change took place.

Common Market under a Cloud

WHEN the drive for British entry into the Common Market was in full and hopeful flood the line taken by its advocates was to say that all was well inside the Six and British industry must be in to share in the benefits.

It was equally to be expected that immediately entry was blackballed by De Gaulle, they should nearly all have a change of heart and say that it really did not matter after all.

Now a few months have passed and some of the earlier arguments have begun to look rather thin. In place of the supposed absence of labour disputes we have seen massive strikes in France and Germany. French farming interests which were partly responsible for the objection to British entry have now brought the French and German governments into conflict, and both of them into conflict with American farmers over the entry of their exports into Europe.

The bloom has gone off the German industrial and stock exchange boom, because of falling profit margins and stronger pressure for wage increases.

At the same time, helped by some industrial recovery and rising profits, many British capitalists and politicians are thinking that they can do better out of Europe, and British exports into the Common Market have increased, as also exports to Russia.

The fact is that both before and after, the arguments were based on wrong or too limited assumptions. The European Common Market carries no more guarantee of permanent rapid expansion than any other large or small region of capitalism, and no more able to escape wage disputes and fluctuating profit margins.

And what happens to one industry inside or outside the Market is not necessarily the experience of other industries. While motor car exports to Europe have been rising, and the Ready Mix Concrete Company claims record sales on the Continent, one firm, Wilmot Breedon, producers of motors, aircraft engines and domestic appliances, reports that the profits made in Britain were overshadowed by the heavy losses of its French subsidiary.

So for the moment the Common Market is rather out of favour.



What Mr. Profumo did to the Stock Exchange.

ONE of the emptiest dreams of the capitalists is to imagine to themselves how happy they could all be if only they could go on making profits without the constant interruption of

"politics." One of a cloudless sky politics keeps blowing up. On Monday, June 10th according to the *Evening Standard*, the London Stock Exchange had its biggest slump since Cuba—not this time the work of one of the K's, but of Mr. Profumo. "Dealers, nervous about the eventual outcome of the Profumo affair, marked share prices down all round."

The same issue of the *Evening Standard* had an article asking whether Mr. Profumo, out of politics, can hope to find an outlet for his talents in business. The argument raises diverting side issues:

A man in public office has to have a high moral character and appear totally incorruptible... In business, however, standards are not always that high... But the business world doesn't think much of a liar, especially if he gets found out.

The writer of the article, the City Editor of the *Standard*, asks: "If he came knocking at your door would you give him a job?" But there is no urgency about it:

The ex-Minister of War comes from a rich family. The Profumos have for many years controlled the £34,000,000 Provident Life Association of London.

Most of the shares are held by trusts in which Mr. Profumo has an important role. In 1961 the trusts sold some £1,000,000 worth of shares for cash in a public issue. But they still own around two-thirds of the company's Ordinary share capital, worth some £3,700,000 at current market prices.

Mr. Profumo, of course, is only one of the beneficiaries. But he must draw quite a useful income from the investment.

Last year Provident Life paid out £120,000 in Ordinary dividends, of which the trusts must have received a considerable share.

H.

Branch News



With excellent sales of the May *SOCIALIST STANDARD* plus sunny weather, comrades in many branches are greatly stimulated and are very busy keeping the circulation figures high. Canvassers are out regularly and in many instances are having record successes. Our roving salesman in the West Country reports "bumper" sales of *SOCIALIST STANDARDS* and pamphlets during his travels in Cornwall. In addition he distributes Party leaflets. Ealing Branch. The outdoor meetings at Earls Court have got off to a promising start, with reasonable weather, good audiences, and encouraging literature sales. All members are asked for their support to these meetings which are held every Thursday evening at 8 pm. Will members kindly note that the Branch will, as usual, be closing down for a brief recess this summer. There will as a result, be no meetings on Fridays during July.

Lunch-time meetings at Lincoln's Inn

Fields. These are held between one and two o'clock and the meetings are well attended, and if literature sellers supported the meetings they will be assured of excellent results. Literature is always available at the meetings, it only needs a few members to spare a little of their lunch hour to sell it!

Bloomsbury Branch will meet as usual during July but will close during August as Conway Hall is closed for that month. Wood Green & Hornsey Branch has changed its branch meeting place, full details in the Branch directory. From this month the addresses of the Branches and Head Office of the World Socialist Party of Ireland will appear regularly in the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* which is now the official Journal of the WSPI as well as the SPGB.

With the arrival of the May *SOCIALIST STANDARD*, Wembley Branch stepped up their canvassing. Manpower was limited, unfortunately, but despite this, three canvasses were run and over six dozen extra copies sold, this time in Fulham. The Branch will visit the area again later, for obviously there is plenty of scope here and it was most encouraging to see how well the May issue sold. The Branch has kept busy in other ways, too. There was a public meeting on "Housing" in May and a film show scheduled for June 24th—title: "Nine Centuries of Coal." The outdoor season started in June, with meetings at Earls Court every other Friday. Two propaganda trips to Southsea have also been planned, one in

June and one in August.

Please note.—There will be no branch meetings on JULY 8th and 15th—holidays!

P. H.

Companion Parties

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Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.

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We reprint this article from the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* of December, 1915, written in the middle of the first World War, its message still rings true, and we know it will be of great interest to our readers.

THE ANSWER depends largely upon the point of view. From one standpoint patriotism appears as the actual religion of the modern State. From another it is the decadence and perversion of a noble and deep-rooted impulse of loyalty to the social unit, acquired by mankind during the earliest stages of social life. From yet another viewpoint, that of capitalist interests, patriotism is nothing more or less than a convenient and potent instrument of domination.

The word itself, both etymologically and historically, has its root in paternity. In tribal days the feeling of social solidarity, which has now become debased into patriotism, was completely bound up with the religion of ancestor worship. In tribal religion, as in the tribe itself, all were united by ties of blood. The gods and their rights and ceremonies were exclusive to the tribesmen. All strangers were rigidly debarred from worship. The gods themselves were usually dead warriors. Every war was a holy war. Among the ancient Israelites, for instance, the holy Arc of Jehovah of Hosts accompanied the tribes to battle. It was this abode or movable tomb of the ancestral deity that went with the Jews in their march through the desert, and even to Jericho, playing an important part in the fall of that remarkable city. All the traditions of the Jewish religion, in fact, were identified with great national triumphs.

Thus tribal religion was completely interwoven with tribal aspirations and integrity. Tribal "patriotism" and religion were identical. Indeed, without the strongest possible social bond, without a kind of "patriotism" that implied the unhesitating self-sacrifice of the individual for the communal existence, it would have been utterly impossible for tribal man to have won through to civilisation. Natural selection insured that only those social groups which developed this supreme instinct of mutual aid could survive; the rest were crushed out in the struggle for existence. Is it a matter for

What is patriotism?

wonder if it be found that such a magnificent social impulse, so vital to the struggling groups of tribal man, received periodical consecration in the willing human sacrifices so common in primitive religious ceremonial? Bound up with the deliberate manufacture of gods for the protection of the tribe and its works, there is indicated a social recognition of the need for, and value of, the sacrifice of the individual for the common weal.

This noble impulse of social solidarity is the common inheritance of all mankind. But being a powerful social force it has lent itself to exploitation. Therefore, with the development of class rule this great impulse is made subordinate to the class interests of the rulers. It becomes debased and perverted to definite anti-social ends. As soon as the people become a slave class "the land of their fathers" is theirs no more. Patriotism to them becomes a fraudulent thing. The "country" is that of their masters alone. Nevertheless, the instinct of loyalty to the community is too deep-seated to be eradicated so easily, and it becomes a deadly weapon in the hands of the rulers against the people themselves.

With the decay of society based on kinship, religion changed also, and from being tribal and exclusive it became universal and propagandist. "Patriotism" at the same time began to distinguish itself from religion. The instinctive tribal loyalty became transformed, by the aid of religion and the fiction of kinship, into political loyalty. In a number of instances in political society, as in Tudor England, the struggle for priority between religion and patriotism became so acute as to help in the introduction of a more subservient form of religion. Thus patriotism became emancipated from religion, and the latter became a mere accessory to patriotism as handmaiden of class rule.

Though universal religion did not split up at the same time as the great empire that gave it birth, patriotism did so. The latter has, in fact, always adapted, enlarged, or contracted itself to fit the existing political unit, whether feudal estate, village, township, county, kingdom, republic or empire. No political form has been too absurd for it to fill with its loyalty. No discordance of race, colour or language has been universally effective against it.

What, then, is patriotism in essence to-

day? It is usually defined as being devotion to the land of our fathers. But which is the land of our fathers? Our fathers came from many different parts of the world. The political division of the world in which we live is an artificial entity. The land has been wrested from other races. The nation they call "ours" is the result of a conquest over original inhabitants, and over ourselves, by successive ruling classes. Unlike the free tribesmen we are hirelings; we possess no country.

Nationality, of which patriotism is the superstition, covers no real entity other than that of a common oppression, a unified government. It does not comprise any unity of race, for in no nation is there one pure race, or anything like it. It does not cover a unity of language, for scarcely a nation exists in which several distinct languages are not indigenous. Nor is it any fixity of territory, for this changes from decade to decade, while the inhabitants of the transferred territory have to transfer their allegiance, their patriotism, to the new nation.

The only universal bond of nationality or patriotism that exists for us today is, then, that of subjection to a single government. Patriotism in the worker is pride in the common yoke imposed by a politically unified ruling class. Yet it is this artificial entity that we are called upon to honour before life itself. This badge of political servitude is called an object worthy of supreme sacrifice. The workers are expected to abandon all vital interests and sacrifice all they hold dear for the preservation of an artificial nationality that is little more than a manufactured unit of discord: a mere focus of economic and political strife.

Thus one of the noblest fruits of man's social evolution—the impulse of sacrifice for the social existence—is being prostituted by the capitalist class to maintain a system of exploitation, to obtain a commercial supremacy, and preserve or extend the boundaries of a superfluous political entity. The workers are duped by the ruling class into sacrificing themselves for the preservation of a politico-economic yoke of a particular form and colour. Many so-called Socialists have fallen headlong into this trap.

Had social solidarity developed in equal measure with the broadening of

men's real interests, it would now be universal in character instead of national. The wholesale mixture of races, and the economic interdependence of the whole world, show that nationalism is now a barrier, and patriotism, as we know it, a curse. Only the whole world can now be rightly called the land of our fathers. Only in the service of the people of the whole world, and not against those of any part of it, can the instinct of social service find its highest and complete expression. The great Socialist has pointed the way. He did not call upon the workers of Germany alone to unite. He appealed to the toilers of the whole world to join hands; to a whole world of labour whose only loss could be its parti-coloured chains. And in this alone lies the consummation of that tribal instinct of social solidarity of which patriotism is the perverted descendant.

Capitalism, therefore, stands as the barrier the destruction of which will not only set free the productive forces of society for the good of all, but will also liberate human solidarity and brother-

hood from the narrow confines of nationality and patriotism. Only victorious labour can make true the simple but pregnant statement: "Mankind are my brethren, the world is my country." Patriotism and nationalism as we know them will then be remembered only as artificial restrictions of men's sympathy and mutual help; as obstacles to the expansion of the human mind; as impediments to the needful and helpful development of human unity and co-operation; as bonds that bound men to slavery; as incentives that set brothers at each other's throats.

Despite its shameless perversion by a robber class the great impulse to human solidarity is by no means dead. Economic factors give it an ever firmer basis, and in the Socialist movement it develops apace. Even the hellish system of individualism, with its doctrine of every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost, has been unable to kill it. And in the great class struggle of the workers against the drones, of the socially useful against the socially pernicious, in this last great struggle for the liberation of

humanity from wage-slavery, the great principle of human solidarity, based upon the necessities of today and impelled by the deep-seated instincts of the race, will come to full fruition and win its supreme historical battle.

That is our hope and aspiration. For the present, however, we are surrounded by the horrors of war added to the horrors of exploitation, and subjected to the operation of open repression as well as to the arts of hypocrisy and fraud. With the weakening power of religion to keep the workers obedient, the false cult of nationality and patriotism is being exploited to the full. Like religion, patriotism has its vestments, its ceremonies, its sacred emblems, its sacred hymns and inspired music; all of which are called in aid of the class interests of our masters, and utilised desperately to lure millions to the shambles for their benefit. Thus is an heroic and glorious social impulse perverted and debased to the support of a régime of wage-slavery, and to the furtherance of the damnable policy of the slave-holding class: to divide and rule.

F.C.W.

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LETTER FROM JAMAICA

One year after the achievement of Independence, it is worthwhile spending a few moments looking at the situation in Jamaica and Trinidad. Local politicians have been telling us for many years that the Colonial rulers were the stumbling block on the road to progress. Now, a year after this stumbling block has been removed, how much nearer are we to the Promised Land?

In Jamaica it is certainly still far beyond the horizon. The army of 80,000 unemployed is larger than in the days of colonial rule and is increasing day by day. Instead of creating new jobs, several firms have closed down. During the Freedom from Hunger Campaign, a march was organised by the unemployed demanding food and jobs—stressing that "charity begins at home." At the last moment the march was banned by the Government and, when it took place in spite of the ban, was followed by armed police patrols—demonstrating that, whether Colonial or Independent, Governments represent the interests of the capitalist class and will ruthlessly use their power to suppress any working-class protest.

Very slowly, and too late, workers are beginning to realise that Independence, for them, has brought about no change for the better, but rather the reverse. They have learnt that their rulers—like those in all other countries which fought for and won their independence—tell them that, now that their country "belongs to them," they must work harder, produce more, refrain from going on strike, etc. It could, of course, be added that although the workers must work harder and be satisfied with less, this does not seem to apply to our political leaders who do little to justify their place in society but get themselves photographed at as many

cocktail parties as possible (for a politician to be photographed constantly with a glass in his hand, is no disadvantage here!)

Jamaica is now going through the same phase as other newly independent nations, who never anticipated the consequences of their independence. One would think that the position is clear enough for the workers to see. There is no future worth having for mankind under Capitalism. It cannot be reformed, it cannot be toned down or made to work in the interests of the working class. The only cure for Capitalism is its abolition. Socialism is the only logical next phase in human society; and by Socialism we do not mean the systems masquerading under that title in Cuba, Russia and elsewhere, but the joining of hands of all the workers of the world in co-operation, to produce and partake of the wealth of the world.

The farce of Independence is becoming clear to more and more workers in Jamaica. However, when the next election comes, will they realise the root cause of their troubles? I doubt it. However, we few Socialists in Jamaica hope to be strong enough in numbers by then to put before the working class of Jamaica the only road for them, and the workers of the rest of the world, to follow.

Yours for Socialism,
GEORGE DOLPHY.



CHURCH FAITH AND PROPERTY

NEARLY one hundred years ago Marx wrote: "The English Established Church will more readily pardon an attack on 38 of its 39 articles than on one thirtieth of its income."

Remembering the zeal with which the Church fought to protect its tithes over the centuries and its traditional defence of private property, Marx's assessment was justified, and the current dispute about the 39 Articles reinforces it. The Church dignitary who raised the issue declared that he does not agree with all of the Articles but he nevertheless assented to them because otherwise he could not have got the appointment: which led other, more conscientious, churchmen to protest about him and his ideas of ethical conduct.

But if the Church's attachment to what are supposed to have been its basic articles of faith for four hundred years is lukewarm, its interest in looking after its property is in no doubt. Its total income is now over £40 million a year, more than double the amount of a few years ago.

A large part of the increase has been due to a change of policy over investments of the Church. Commissioners who, instead of relying on prayer made use of investment experts. Their total income, which in 1952-3 was under £8 million, was in 1961-2, more than £16 million; of which £8,993,275 came from Stock Exchange Securities, £4,576,161

from Agricultural and Urban Estates, and £1,471,949 from mortgages.

Doubtless those responsible would say that they have to keep up with the times, which also accounts for their minds turning to amalgamation of the rival Christian faiths. But while they are learning from the business world about more profitable ways of investing they might also take note that amalgamation often means "take-over." The *Sunday Telegraph* (9/6/63) warns its fellow Anglicans that parleying with the Roman Catholics may result in "the eventual submission of the Church of England to the Roman obedience."

While on the subject of winds of change in the Christian world the Communists must not be forgotten. Pope John not only interested the Church of England in his discussions for unity, but also the representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church, and when he died the *Daily Worker* in its issue of June 4, claimed that he was mourned by "hundreds of millions of people throughout the world," among those millions being supporters of the Communist Party. Under the heading, "World Mourns Peace Pope," the *Daily Worker* claimed that the Pope "opened the way to new possibilities of co-operation between Catholics and Communists for peace and social progress."

H.

THROWING STONES IN THE RUSSIAN GLASSHOUSE

IF THE *Daily Worker* were content to uphold Russia as the best capitalism they know they could have cosy arguments with the admirers of other parts of the capitalist world. Without any of the contestants ever giving or receiving a mortal wound; it would be a rule of the game never to attack capitalism itself.

But being cursed with the obligation of claiming that Russia is Socialist they simply do not remember that it is basically like the rest of the capitalist world and frequently hurl stones at the British Government which land plump in the Russian glasshouse.

In their issue of January 19th they let themselves go about the Tory administration. "Tell Macmillan and his crew: In the name of Britain—go!" This was followed by columns of ripe, corny, political questions about "duds, deadbeats and diehards" (with a passing crocodile tear about the Labour Party's "problem of leadership")—just the sort of stuff that the "ins" and "outs" of capitalist politics have been exuding for

a century.

But they also went into a specific charge about the wickedness the Government has in mind. "Tory plan is more arms and dearer food."

"Meat, butter, cheese, bread, eggs and many other items would rise," a "savage cut" in the workers standard of living. And the Tories, after spending £17,000 million on armaments in eleven years "now propose to spend even more."

The only thing the *Worker* forgot was that this twofold charge is one that can be validly levelled at every government there is or has ever been—including the government of Russia.

For just about half a year ago the Russian government suddenly announced that meat and meat products were to have their price increased by 30 per cent. and butter by 25 per cent. But there was no "go man go" to Mr. Krushchev in the columns of the *Worker*, only a laboured editorial sympathising with Mr. K's government because of the difficult decision they had to make about higher

prices, and "proving" that it was all for the best because the Russian government's ultimate grand design is to achieve the highest standard of living in the world. (Can't you hear Macmillan uttering likewise?)

And Russian capitalism also spends money on armaments. According to the *Daily Worker* of December 7th, 1961, Russian armament expenditure in 1962 was being increased from an originally planned figure of £3,690 million, to £5,360 million. The increase alone is just about the amount spent by Macmillan's government in the same year. No chicken feed like £17,000 million in eleven years for Mr. Krushchev but something more impressive; say two or three times as much at very least.

Well, it's a hard life trying to pick and choose between the different capitalist groups.

H.

Meetings

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays:

Hyde Park, 3.30 and 6.30 pm
Beresford Square, Woolwich, 8 pm
East Street, Walworth
July 7th and 21st (11 am)
" 14th (noon)
" 21st (1 pm)

Mondays: Lincolns Inn Fields 1-2 pm

Wednesdays: Outside Charing Cross Underground Station, Villiers Street, 7.30 p.m.

Thursdays:

Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm
Earls Court, 8 pm
Hyde Park, 8 pm

Fridays: Earls Court, 8 pm

Saturdays: Hyde Park, 7.30 pm

PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE MEETINGS.

The Royal Oak, York Street (near Marylebone Road) W1.
Wednesday, 8.30 p.m.

July 3rd

MARKISM TODAY
Speaker: E. Hardy.

July 10th

FROM TILLET TO COUSINS
Speaker: W. Waters.

July 24th

Tape recording of broadcast of World Socialist Party of U.S.A.

July 31st

FILM SHOW.

BOOK: *No Tears in Aldgate*, by Ralph L. Finn (*Robert Hale* 18s.).
VERDICT: Was life in a slum really so nice?

A vivid picture of the East End

When we are young, particularly in our childhood, we may live in the most degrading slum conditions, but often fail to appreciate the fact fully. Indeed, with kindly parents, we may even manage to get by with a tolerably happy childhood, unappalled by the stench around us. Maybe that's as well. There is no evidence to show that an unhappy childhood makes better people of us, or that we are any more able to face the rigours of adulthood having had severe parents. The reverse is more likely.

To say all this is one thing, but it does not excuse nostalgia as we grow older. Having once got away from slumdom, no one in his right mind wants to return to it, although it is, of course, understandable that he may miss his former friends and neighbours and long for their company again. Now Mr. Finn is a very able writer. He has painted a vivid picture of the early years of his life in London's East End. Yet it is difficult to avoid the feeling that he yearns to go back and live there even after all these years.

Who knows, perhaps the nostalgia, the quiet little sighs for the old days, are a luxury which he can allow himself since it seems pretty certain that he will never go back to them. Broughton Buildings, the slum tenement in London's East End where he spent his youth, was bombed to the ground in the second World War. But he and his family had left there, anyway, some years before. They had shifted just as soon as their financial position allowed them to.

Nostalgia apart, this book is interesting for its description of life in London's dockside slumdom not so very long ago. Mr. Finn was born there in 1912. His parents were Polish Jews and had come to England in search of a better life. "Go to England," they were told, "the streets are paved with gold." But all that they could find was the grime, dirt and decay of the East End. It is interesting to see how history has repeated itself many times since then and, although the immigrants in recent years have had darker skins, behind their arrival has been the same desire to escape from poverty. Again, many of them have drifted into broken down hovels where they have met resentment, prejudice and even downright hatred.

But racialism is not a failing from

which only white men and gentiles suffer. Mr. Finn rightly condemns anti-semitism, but in his haste to do this, betrays a similar weakness. To read his comparative descriptions, you would think that most Jews—in his home area anyway—were thrifty and hardworking, yet very kind, while their Gentile brothers spent most of their spare time boozing, neglecting their children and being stingy. Yet on his own admission there was something common to Jew and Gentile alike, and that was the poverty and degradation from which they all suffered, and which had little to do with personal faults or virtues. Incidentally, we find it incredibly naive of him to suggest in one part of his book that anti-semitism did not really appear on the scene until the rise of the Nazis.

Mr. Finn has been mainly concerned with reminiscences, of course, although

he has not been able to resist riding one or two pet hobby horses here and there. For example, "Let's face it," he says early on, "Intelligent people in those days did not frequent pubs. Nice people didn't. They were home from home of the loutish, the stupid, the ignorant, the intolerant—the salt of British democracy. Long live the working class sots!"

But the book is worth reading and there is a lesson to be learnt from it, which Mr. Finn himself would do well to heed, intensely proud as he is of being a Jew. And that is the hard fact of working class identity which cuts right across all other divisions and makes them trifling by comparison. It is in the interests of every worker to recognise this so that the day will be that much nearer when all the Broughton Places of this world will be no more.

E. T. C.



(From the
SOCIALIST STANDARD,
July, 1913.)

THE NEED FOR SOCIALISM

Today the human race is living out of conformity with its environment. The operation of social forces has separated society into two classes, with different modes of living and a different outlook on the world. The dominant class has thrown off all pretence of function and has become solely parasitic, a cancerous growth in the body of the social organism. Its presence is detrimental to the race. The only useful class is robbed of the results of its labour; the wealth goes to feed the cancer, the useless class. Increasing powers of production, instead of giving the workers leisure and opportunities for self-development, only increase their sufferings and intensify their labour. The result of longer hours, of technical education and training, is only so much more food for society's malignant growth, so much more wealth for the capitalist class, from which to hire the forces that overawe the workers and keep them in subjection.

The very existence of such forces, when capital has become international, reveals their purpose to the workers, whose every effort on the industrial field is thwarted by them. Antagonism that only shows itself on the industrial field sectionally and spasmodically, stands out as class antagonism when the armed forces are used against all sections of the workers in turn. The political machine then becomes a challenge to the workers; it stands out as the symbol of capitalism, the nucleus of the capitalist State. Its control means power.

The working class have nearly exhausted the long chapter of blunders that characterised their history during the nineteenth century—machine smashing, Chartism, Liberal-Labour representation, etc. They must either begin over again or make a serious study of their real position and find that control of the political machine is within their reach and is the first step that must be taken towards freedom.

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Britain and the
World Socialist
Party of Ireland

Socialist Standard

August 1963 6d

In this number

THE SOVIET ECONOMY

RACIAL CONFLICT IN
THE USA

NEW TOWNS FOR OLD

HIGH WAGES MYTH

TORY STRUGGLE FOR
POWER

RUSSO-CHINESE
CONUNDRUM

SHATTERED IMAGE

THE BISHOP OF WOOLWICH SQUARES THE CIRCLE

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

SPGB Branches

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY No meetings during August. September meetings Thursdays 5th and 19th, 7.30 pm. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm. 2nd Aug. at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 16th Aug. at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING, See WEST LONDON.

GLASGOW Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

HACKNEY 2nd & 4th Wednesdays in month 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, NS.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

LEWISHAM Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, 2 Davenport Road, SE6.

SPGB Groups

BRIGHTON 3rd Friday in month, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

BROMLEY For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

EARLS COURT & DISTRICT Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

MID HERTS 1st Wednesday (7th Aug) in month 7.30 pm, Room 3, The Community Centre, Mill Green Road, Welwyn Garden City. Correspondence: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield, Herts. (Phone Hatfield 4802).

WSPI Branches

BELFAST Tuesdays 8 pm, 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

DUBLIN Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 5 Seville Terrace, North Strand, Dublin 1.

ARMAGH Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 20 Druids Villas, Armagh City, Co. Armagh.

NOTTINGHAM 2nd Wednesday in month (14th Aug.) 8 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: G. Hallam, 14 Church Drive, Carrington, Nottingham.

PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX 2nd and 4th Monday in month (12th and 26th Aug) 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: A. Partner 28 Hambro Hill, Rayleigh.

SWANSEA 1st and 3rd Monday (5th and 19th Aug) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W.5

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (8th and 22nd Aug. in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane, Romford, Essex.

WEST LONDON Fridays 8 pm, Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall, Hammersmith (facing river, few minutes from Broadway). Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 8.30 pm, 18 Ribblesdale Road, N8 (opposite Hornsey Railway Station - nearest Tube, Turnpike Lane). Correspondence to secretary at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (9th and 23rd Aug.) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens Eltham, SE9.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: M. Hopwood, St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale. Nr Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Enquiries: T. Lord 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran near Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

A NEW PAMPHLET THE CASE FOR SOCIALISM

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of Great Britain and the World
Socialist Party of Ireland



SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

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WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets 4th Sunday of each month at the Head Office, 5 Granville Buildings, 53 High Street, Belfast 1, at 3.30 pm. Next meeting July 28th.

NEWS IN REVIEW 120

Aftermath of Profumo

BTC dies

The Kennedy tour

Struggle for power in Tory Party

SOUTH AFRICA UNDER BRITISH RULE 123

SHATTERED IMAGE 124

FINANCE & INDUSTRY 126

NEW TOWNS FOR OLD 127

THE PASSING SHOW 128

RACIAL CONFLICT IN THE USA 129

BRANCH NEWS 130

BOOK: MINERS IN THE USA 131

THE SOVIET ECONOMY 132

SOVIET KEYNESIANISM

Apologies to Karl Marx

Future historians interpreting our eventful epoch will note outstanding happenings like the two world wars, the overthrow of Czarism in Russia, the rise of independent countries in Asia and Africa, the decline of the British and other Colonial empires, and so on. Possibly the single event that will loom the largest will be the rise of Russia as a world power under the half century of government by a party calling itself Communist.

And if the historians have any insight at all they will be astonished to discover the almost total failure of politicians, economists and other so-called leaders of thought in our age to understand what has been going on before their eyes. And they may well comment that, if there can be degrees of ignorance, the products of the public schools and universities seem, if anything, to have been even more remote from reality than the rest.

So for over forty years, apart from the Socialist few who recognised from the outset that Socialism (Communism) was out of the question in Russia and that that country was ripe for the building of a modern capitalist state, we have had the endless stream of alleged information about Russia describing it in terms of "Communism" or "Socialism" or "Marxism," all three of which are completely inapplicable.

It is hardly possible to open a newspaper or political journal without meeting this nonsense. Three recent examples within a week were "Does Marxist Economy Work?" in the *New Daily*, "Communist Economy Under Change" (title of a book published in June), and the following from the *Financial Times*: "The Russians have lived through 45 years of Communism."

Translating these statements into real terms, the first is an argument to the effect that centralised planning in Russia is not the success it is claimed to be; the second and third likewise refer to Russian State Capitalism.

What then would the writers offer as their defence for such misdescription? The fact that the Russian leaders call themselves Communists or Marxists? But this has about as much relevance as to describe British capitalism as a Christian economy because Macmillan goes to Church, or to say that the British lived for a number of years under vegetarianism because the late Stafford Cripps did not eat meat.

Of course, as the years have passed by and the nature of the Russian economy has been seen more clearly through the mists of propaganda and prejudice, some of the Western politicians have grasped the truth of the matter. Two examples are the late John Foster Dulles telling the Russian Minister of Trade, Mikoyan, that Eisenhower and he recognised that Russia is a State capitalist economy; and an article in the 75th Anniversary number of the *Financial Times* last February saying that what Lenin and his party did in Russia in the name of Marxism seemed at least to some Marxists "to be standing Marx on his head."

But time really does have its revenges. The book referred to above was reviewed by the *New Daily*, which draws the moral that the deficiencies of the centralised planning in Russia, Poland and Yugoslavia are the failures of "Marxism as an economic system." The same book, reviewed in the *Economist* (June

Trafalgar Square,
London has
been provisionally
booked for a
rally on Sunday
15th September
3.30 p.m.

Details next month's issue

Forthcoming meeting

Hampstead
Town Hall on
Monday 21st
October

Rally
Battersea Town
Hall
Wednesday
August 14th
7.30 p.m.

Members and
sympathisers in the
Hammersmith area
are cordially invited
to the meetings of
the West London Branch
(ex Ealing) which meets
Fridays, 8 p.m. at
Westcott Lodge, Lower
Mall, W.6

29th) induces the reviewer to admit that the failures described in the book are not the result of Marxism but of Keynesian doctrines:

With all due apologies to Karl Marx, the economic experiments now being carried on in his name are really mainly experiments in Keynesianism *à outrance*. They have the virtues of Keynesianism (full employment of resources; and thus construction of productive power) and the vices of *à outrance* (maldistribution of resources and thus a lower standard of living than those nations' massed productive power should warrant). If there were any justice in idolatry, Soviet economists would soon be taking down Marx's statues for replacement by Keynes's; but should then hold interesting dialectical debates on the respects in which Keynesianism is being deviationistically applied."

The *Economist* writer stops too soon. When the Russian Keynesians have finished arguing about Keynes among themselves they could discuss with the *Economist* the respective merits of carrots and big sticks for keeping the workers under control and then continue to discover some defence of Russian, British, American, Chinese, etc. capitalism against the Marxian criticism advanced by Socialists.

THE NEWS IN REVIEW

Aftermath of Profumo

If Mr. Macmillan is forced out and if, as now seems likely, the Tories lose the next election, we may be sure that the unhappy Mr. Profumo will get a lot of the blame for it.

This, of course, will be hardly fair or accurate. The government have been in trouble for a long time and so has the Prime Minister. Profumo's indiscretion was only the last, if the most News of the Worldish, of the events which have exploded under the Tories' confident conviction that they could do no wrong and that there was no reason why they should not stay in power for ever.

There were good grounds for this confidence. As each political crisis was ridden, as each potentially dangerous policy was ruthlessly pushed through, as Macmillan airily brushed all criticism under the nearest carpet, the working class faithfully piled up the Tory majorities. Mac and whoever he chose for his men seemed to be unbeatable.

Now, it seems all that is to be changed and, unless after hanging on, the Conservatives can recover the ground they have lost, we shall have a Labour government next time.

If that does happen the reasons for it will be no less foolish than in the past. The working class voters will think that the Labour Party is more efficient, cleverer, perhaps morally sounder, than the Tories. They may decide that the secrets of British capitalism will be better guarded under, say, Mr. George Wigg than they have been under Mr. Macmillan. Or perhaps they will virtually

give up thinking about it and simply decide, as if politics were like a game of Ludo, that it is time Labour had a turn.

Whatever the detailed reasons, if the electorate return a Labour government it will be because they are hoping for better things from them. In this hope they will be as mistaken as they were in 1945 and again twelve years ago when they changed back to the Tories. Neither of these parties—nor indeed any capitalist party—can provide the sort of world which human beings should live in.

It is a safe bet that some future journalist-cum-historian will write up a romantic, exaggerated account of the Profumo affair in which the ex-Minister of War will be given an importance out of his due. In fact, the most that he has done is to contribute a little more to the probability that the British working class, sometime in the next year or so, will change from supporting one capitalist party to another.

BTC
dies



The British Transport Commission is now dead. Would there be any of its stockholders grateful enough to contribute towards a suitable memorial?

Consider the facts. Doctor Beeching has proved, says the government, that a

RUSSO-CHINESE CONUNDRUM

THE NEWSPAPERS are full of articles on the row between Russia and China, all "explaining" with greater or less obscurity the motives of the contestants. Apart from W. N. Ewer, who wrote in the *Daily Herald* that neither Khrushchev nor Mao really cares a comma what Marx said, because the row is not about Marxist doctrine but power politics, almost all the writers have treated it as if the two Governments really are concerned with the "holy writ" of Marx, Lenin, etc.

They are all trying to solve the wrong

puzzle, yet the real one is far more fascinating.

It was Marx who wrote that in considering revolutionary changes and conflicts you have to distinguish between the real causes and developments on the one hand, and the "ideological forms" in which the people concerned saw and expressed the conflicts on the other. So looking back at the French revolution you don't have to believe that it was about "liberty, equality and fraternity"; or that the Reformation was about Henry VIII's divorces, the corruption in

monasteries and points of theology.

All the Russian and Chinese leaders must presumably have read Marx, or at least Lenin, on the gulf between the slogans and ideologies and the economic realities, yet here they all are posturing and manoeuvring about the sacred texts like medieval theologians. The intriguing question is have they all got their tongues in their cheeks while they work on the credulity of their faithful flocks, or are they just a living example of the truth of what Marx wrote about past history?

H.

lot of the railway system cannot make a profit. Under the Beeching regime lines have been shut down wholesale and, of course, there is the Big Chop yet to come.

Now if this sort of thing happened in a privately controlled industry the people who held stock in it would suffer. Their dividends at the least would be cut and in all probability would disappear altogether.

Not so on the railways, nor in the other nationalised concerns. The Transport Commission's final accounts showed a total deficit for its term of life of £143.6 million, almost entirely due to the unprofitable operation of the railways. Yet concealed in this deficit was the sum of £74.4 million arising from payments of interest on stock and other central charges.

Which means that tens of millions of pounds have been paid out to stockholders, of one kind or another, from railway lines many of which were not making a profit and some of which have indeed been closed.

The story is the same in the coal industry, where the recent small surplus represented an actual operating profit of £25.4 million, when we take into account the interest which the NCB is liable to pay. And this interest, again, bore no relation to the fact that there have been widespread closures of coal mines.

Even for capitalism, this is something of an Alice-in-Wonderland story. The whole point, which is quite obscured in the regular hullabaloo over the finances of State industries, is that nationalisation

basically changes nothing. The workers in State industries continue to turn out surplus value, a fair chunk of which goes out in the form of profit. For them, it is exploitation as usual.

For the capitalist class it is profits as usual. Even if the profits are unusual—and unusually generous.

The Kennedy tour

It was not, of course, just to visit the Old Homestead that Mr. Kennedy came to Europe, although one of the uses of his tour was to make plain, by his refusal to open the Giant's Causeway and his other references to Anglo-Irish relations, his support for the cause of Irish republicanism.

The Irish part of the journey was, predictably, a pressman's junket, with a faked up cottage, pigs dragged into the kitchen and the President taking a dish of tea with kind, puddeny Irish ma's.

Beneath this ballyhoo, Kennedy was in deadly earnest. He came to rally support for his government's European policy, which has been under some heavy fire of late. He came to put the de Gaulle concept of an independently united Europe in what Washington thinks is its place. He came to win Germany away from the temptations of the stubborn old man in Paris and to make sure that Adenauer's successor will be receptive to American influence.

It was also noticeable that, for the usual diplomatic reasons, Kennedy did not see Harold Wilson. This gave some support to the rumours that one of the results of Wilson's recent trip to Washington is that the American government does not look favourably upon the prospect of a Labour win at the next election. Did Wilson really give Kennedy cause to adopt this attitude? Perhaps, if Labour is returned next time, we shall find out.

The real reason for visits like Kennedy's is all too often hidden in a cloud of newspaper nonsense. The men who meet in high conference are there to stand up for the interests of their country's ruling class. They talk about the carve up of the capitalist world and the economic and military steps they can take to keep the carve up as they want it. They discuss the disputes which capitalism is so constantly heir to.

These men appear to hold the fate of the world in their hands. But the reality lies deeper. The working class must see this essential fact and resolve to do away with the social system which produces these leaders, their cynicism, and the perpetual threat of war.

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Mr. MACMILLAN'S FUTURE

Struggle for power in the Tory Party

ONE OF the facts to come to the surface of the murky waters of the Profumo affair is that there is now a serious split in the Conservative party, at any rate in Parliament, over who should lead them at the next election.

For some time Tory M.P.s have been harbouring considerable dissatisfaction with Mr. Macmillan's leadership. Men like Nigel Birch, Lord Lambton and Sir Harry Legge-Bourke have made no secret of the fact that in their opinion they stand a better chance of coming back to Westminster next time under a new, younger leader. It seems safe to assume that this feeling is more widely held than the number of abstentions in the Profumo debate would indicate. There is some fairly sound evidence that many Conservative M.P.s agreed to go into the government lobby that night only after their doubts had been stilled by a promise that Mr. Macmillan would resign as soon as it was possible for him to do so without losing too much political dignity. If this is true, then Mr. Macmillan's television announcement that he still hopes to be the Tory leader in the next election was a very fast one to be pulled. It was a typically shrewd move by a master at the game of staying in power. But more of that later.

For the moment, let us observe that another of the blows which Mr. Profumo dealt his party was that he deprived them of their cherished image of unity. It has long been a useful electoral move for the Tories to publicise the searing splits in the Labour Party and indeed Labour has had their share of them. These splits have also provided the Tories with some useful bogey men—particularly, of course, the late Aneurin Bevan. In contrast, the Conservative Party has usually seemed like a haven of peace. Nobody asking awkward questions. Nobody getting at the leader. No splits, at any rate on the surface. But now all that is gone. And to heighten the Tories' discomfort, the Labour Party now seems to be calmly united. Mr. Wilson has trod craftily since he became leader of the Opposition; his admonition to the 1922 Committee to call off their attacks on Mr. Macmillan, was typical of his aptitude for political warfare. At this distance, Mr. Wilson seems to be one of the cleverest of Labour's post-war leaders. He seems to have pacified his Party, although he has undoubtedly been helped in this by the fact that Labour's electoral hopes are so high. Nothing concentrates the mind of a capitalist political party so much as the realisation that power is almost within their grasp. It is anybody's guess how long this will last. If, after all their lip-smacking over the Gallup polls and the by-elections, Labour lose the next election, Wilson may well get the blame and find his grip on his office considerably weaker. For the moment, it seems to be getting stronger as the days go by.

Despite the Tory split, it was always on the cards that Macmillan would not in fact go over Profumo. Clever indeed was the question, put in another context by *The Economist*, "... may the Government, or rather the Prime Minister, of Britain be about to be overthrown by a 21-year-old trollop?" How many M.P.s would answer yes to that question?

Perhaps not many Tory M.P.s would realise that in any case it was beside the point. Apart from the distressing—for the Tories—thought of Miss Keeler giving Mr. Macmillan the sack, there was the urgent question of who to replace Mr. Macmillan with. The Prime Minister has cleverly pushed all of his likely rivals out of the running. Men like Butler, Hailsham and Macleod, all of whom were once well fancied for the succession, have been sidetracked and in some ways discredited. If Britain had succeeded in the application to join the Common Market, Edward Heath may have been in line for the job. As it is, however... Selwyn Lloyd has been banished and into the bargain he has been held in check, his energy diverted into work like his recent investigation into Conservative Party organisation. The strongest challenger now seems to be Mr. Maudling but apart from anything else, he would operate under the handicap of leading a government full of aspirants for his job.

The fact is that Mr. Macmillan has never allowed a Crown Prince to rise from the Tory ranks. When Churchill was Prime Minister there was no serious doubt that when he went he would be succeeded by Anthony Eden. Churchill was firmly enough in the saddle to be able to tolerate this situation. In contrast, Macmillan's rule has seen a number of potential challengers rise only to fall again into comparative obscurity. This may yet be the fate of the genial Mr. Maudling. Macmillan has played this card—a strong one—for all he is worth, together with the other trumps he holds—his unprecedented election successes and the threat to dissolve Parliament, with the implied follow-up that this would mean throwing a lot of potentially rebellious Tory M.P.s to the electoral wolves. We may be sure that nothing is more calculated to dampen the fires of revolt in the well-cared-for bellies of Conservative members.

If Macmillan pulled out all his aces in the Profumo battle, it can only be because he was literally fighting for his political life. The last few years have seen his government facing a series of crises, many of which he has been able to dismiss with an audaciously airy phrase. Thorneycroft's resignation was "a little local difficulty." Selwyn Lloyd went because, perhaps, he was "tired." He has even tried the same trick in his latest crisis. "I see," he said, a couple of weeks after the Profumo debate, "the Gallup Poll is going up again. These things come and go." Yet this was surely his gravest hour, with a lot of the Tory press after him and no end of whispers of even worse to come, when we knew the identity of the naked butler and of one or two other curious figures.

Perhaps the crucial point in the Profumo crisis was when the news got out that Mr. Enoch Powell and Sir Edward Boyle were considering resigning over the way the affair had been handled. This was dangerous news, because these two men could have been the gathering points for other rebellious Tories. In *The Spectator* of June 21st Henry Fairlie, who wrote up the story of the threatened resignations for the *Daily Express*, contributed a dramatic article which claimed that the story was given to him by a Conservative Member

of Parliament, "... a source which not only was reliable but made the story credible..." Fairlie also gave his opinion that the impending resignations were leaked as part of a deliberate political move by his informant, a move to get Mr. Macmillan out.

This story, if true, is an indication of how deep is the split in the Tory party and how tricky was the situation which Macmillan faced. This is in no way diminished by the fact that Mr. Fairlie's informant, plotting against Macmillan on one hand, supported him in the voting on that fateful night. Mr. Fairlie, indeed, is as impressed by this as we would expect an experienced political journalist to be. "(It) only shows," he commented, "that politicians are politicians."

Should we, then, leave the matter there, so casually and with such a worldly cynicism? The row which is going on now in the Conservative Party, and which has been going on for so long in the Labour Party, is about one thing: power. They are all of them fighting over which policies and which leaders may give them the best chance of persuading enough people to vote for them to return them to power at a future election. It does not matter if they have no intention of carrying out their policies. It does not matter if the leader they choose is dishonest or callous as many, in the past, we know have been. Provided they deliver the goods the policies and the leader get the support they need.

And the goods—the votes—come from the very people who have nothing to gain either way in the struggle for power. The majority of voters in this and every other capitalist country are members of the working class. They are the people who have to spend their entire lives working to build the wealth of capitalism and who make possible the very luxuries

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD
August, 1913.

SOUTH AFRICA UNDER BRITISH RULE

Recent happenings in South Africa, ... in which British miners, and British soldiers, and British (!) capitalists, and British knights, and the highest of high officers of the British Crown, are concerned, show clearly enough that in all essentials, the "cultured" ones of our Western civilisation are quite as capable, given the materials, as any Portuguese half-breed in the pay of British capital, of creating a "Devil's Paradise" of their own, with British blood and brawn, on the soil of the British Empire.

While they are busy fulminating against the "White Slave Trader" at home, they are, with brutal cynicism, crowning the blood-reeking fortunes of South African millionaires with titles. So that the political funds of the "Great Liberal Party" may benefit, they make murder respectable by covering it with the cloak of knight-hood.

Those who do not know how, and at what cost of working class suffering and misery, these South African fortunes have been amassed, are invited to think over the scanty particu-

lars here reproduced.

"However healthy a Transvaal rock-drill man may appear to be on his return to this country," Dr. Haldane told the Departmental Committee on Industrial Diseases in 1907, "he will probably be dead within a year or two." (*Pall Mall Gazette*, 7.7.13.)

"The death rate of one section of the men who mine the gold—the machine men or rock drillers—is over 230 per thousand from one disease—miner's phthisis—alone. Such a death rate from a single occupational disease must be unparalleled in the whole industrial world. It can only be compared with King Leopold's Congo Free State.

"Speaking before a representative meeting of mining engineers in Johannesburg in September last Mr. Koetze, the Government mining engineer, said: 'Sooner or later every worker underground in these mines will contract miner's phthisis.'

"The practical result of commissions of inquiry have been recommendations that water be used to keep

and privileges which power struggles are about. They organise and administer capitalism in all its aspects and at every level. Without their work, capitalism could not carry on. Yet although they hold this powerful position, the working class never exert it to the full. They could get rid of capitalism; yet they accept it as part of the natural order of things. Although they may not like some of the effects of capitalism, the working class generally think that there is little or nothing that can be done about them. If they lose confidence in one capitalist party they are content to put another to govern in its place. They accept the notion that capitalism's leaders are as effective as the leaders themselves like to think. They pine for strong leaders, or clever leaders, or peaceful and humane leaders. They never reflect upon the fact that, no matter who is at the head of capitalism, it ticks over as unpleasantly as ever.

This is the human material with which Macmillan and the other politicians work. These are the people who fall for the smooth slogans and the big ads., the people who are convinced that they have never had it so good. These are the people who are fed with the newspaper revelations of the latest sordid sexual adventures of public figures. Is it any wonder that capitalism's leaders are hard and ruthless men?

One day the full story of the Profumo affair will be written and it will not make pleasant reading. It will be a story, familiar enough to us now, of lies (not just Profumo's) and double dealing. And by the time it is on the bookstalls there will have been many more scandals, many more political deals, much more ruthless struggling for power. It will probably be a best seller.

IVAN.

SHATTERED IMAGE

The Bishop of Woolwich squares the circle

A GREAT deal of attention has recently been focused on controversies within the Church of England by the publication of a book written by the Bishop of Woolwich entitled *Honest to God*. The book has prompted wide interest in issues basic to religion, but although this controversy has been extended within the Church itself, propositions involving the modification of assumptions fundamental to the religious outlook have been argued about for some time.

These arguments, forced upon the Church by social developments external to it, have been reluctant but inevitable, bitter and agonised. There is no doubt, however, that the publication of this book has brought these arguments under wider public scrutiny, has stepped up the intensity of the discussion, and has brought about a new phase in what is quite frankly a time of crisis for the Church of England. Its problem is how to reverse mounting indifference to it and its dogma. This may be a problem for the Church itself, which quite obviously will resent and strive against becoming a social anachronism, but in relation to the crucial social problems facing man today it is irrelevant and superfluous. The significance of the controversy is that it opens a fresh chapter in man's long struggle to free his existence from service to outside agencies—the gods.

Of all the churches in this country, it is the Church of England that has suffered most from the erosion of what was once a compelling enthusiasm for religious activities, especially in urban areas. At least until the turn of the century, the Church of England remained a powerful force that intervened actively in the everyday affairs of the community. Quite apart from providing spiritual balm to a 19th century working class depressed by acute poverty, it was the authoritative keeper of the community's moral conscience. It was the father confessor to an era in trouble, as well as a positive force in political and economic affairs. The pulpit was a platform, and congregations were large enough to make them worth talking to.

But since those days, the thunderous voice of the Church of England has softened to a whisper, largely ignored and unnoticed. The declamations from its pulpits re-echo around virtually empty caverns; its morality is flaunted! the soporifics that it once dispensed are now found elsewhere in more acceptable forms. But it is not a situation that has been created by mass active opposition, coherently articulated or positively demonstrated. The majority of the population are not even atheists, let alone aware and convinced of Marxist theories, but the attitude of a growing number of people is of massive indifference and crushing unconcern. The consequences for the Church are just the same. Although there is still a degree of social esteem accorded to baptisms, marriages and burials presided over by the Church, they have more significance as desirable conventions than as conscientious acts of faith; as customs they have become drained of their religious and spiritual meaning.

The steady withdrawal of active support for Church affairs does not apply in equal degree to every branch of religion in this country. Quite certainly, the Roman Catholic Church retains a firmer grip over its members than the Church of England. But there are good historical reasons for this, and

whilst the Catholic Church makes it much more difficult for individuals to drift away, and although it still remains a powerful bastion of superstition based on fear and ignorance, it is unlikely either that in the long term it can resist tendencies fundamental to modern capitalism—scepticism and individual self-interest.

The dogma of the Church of England boils down to an expedient. It summed up the aspirations of a 16th-17th century trading class seeking freedom for the development of its own activities outside the influence of the established landed interests whose political and economic power was based, at least in part, on the Roman Catholic Church, and which expressed themselves in its ideology.

The Roman Catholic Church secured subservience by the weapon of tyrannical superstition. Thus its god was a tyrant and a taskmaster; a god who imposed a duty of constant adulation and who threatened wrongdoers with the nightmare penalty of eternal damnation. Beyond this, since the Church itself was the physical embodiment of God on earth, the worship of God had to be the worship of the Church. The Catholic Church's claim was and is to be the only gateway to heaven and its followers were forced to submit to its authority on all aspects of moral and political behaviour. It involved its adherents in the agony of thorns, a hierarchy of sin, the bleeding heart of Jesus, the pain of eternally stoked hellfire and other frightening fundamentalist accoutrements of primeval religious fervour. And by means of its power over ignorant and bewildered men, it secured their economic subservience.

Protestantism then was the expedient ideological innovation of a dynamic social element which still felt the need for religious justification but which sought freedom from the authoritarian strictures of the Roman Church. Thus with the Reformation and the establishment of the Church of England, a god was invoked who dispensed with the Church as a necessary turnstile between himself and his flock. A dogma was created that allowed entrance to heaven merely on the condition of belief in the holy trinity. The expedient changing of cherished beliefs is in the long-standing tradition of the Church of England, and it is not surprising that Catholicism retains a more enduring grip over its members.

As a true child of his age, and in emulation of the image-mongering techniques of advertising, the Bishop of Woolwich believes that in order to combat the growing lack of interest in the Church and Christianity, it is necessary to change the image of its god. He holds that it is no longer acceptable to think of God as some supernatural, yet objectified, reality existing "out there," somewhere in outer space, holding omnipotent sway over a universe of his own creation. He holds that God should no longer be thought of as an entity external to society's own existence, to whom individuals owe personal worship. For the Bishop of Woolwich, the idea of God represents all the best aspirations of man towards brotherhood, mutual tolerance and dedication to community interests. God to him is a force for common good inherited by contemporary man from the most obscure beginnings of history. Different from the beer-swilling vicars singing Nelly Dean with contrived yet conscientious enthusiasm, the absurd



indignity of ton-up parsons, hymns sung to skiffle and other props, the ideas of the Bishop of Woolwich form the more credible substance of today's radical theology.

The Bishop has realised that social consciousness has developed past the point of an easy acceptance of the supernatural imagery of traditional religion that sprang from social conditions in which science was in its infancy and man's technical apparatus crude. The evolving scientific culture of the space age displaces the superstitious faith of religion and reduces it to an irrelevance. It could once be truly observed and easily demonstrated that the Church was a fundamental support of capitalist society; but the order of priorities between religious faith and scientific method in a society driven towards greater technical complexity has changed all this.

Because capitalism is essentially a competitive form of society, and because this competition takes the form of struggle for commercial success both within nations and between nations, society is impelled to seek greater efficiency and productivity of labour. Thus technical change and scientific research and all the social consequences of them, including a bias towards technical education, are basic features of modern capitalist society. The fact of continued technical innovation so deeply permeates our culture that even momentous achievements are accepted with equanimity. Man lives today in an atmosphere of intense scientific enquiry which results in new discoveries daily. The means of communication are developed to a point where this new knowledge, whether it be about stars a million light years away, or the breeding habits of some obscure species of tropical fish, can be communicated immediately to all men. It is an age that emphasises the contrast between knowledge that can be proved and assumptions that require faith.

The first premise of historical materialism is that all man's thinking is social thinking; that there is no idea that man discusses, no interest that he fights for, and no ideal that he aspires to, that is not derived from social origins. When the Bishop of Woolwich denies God a supernatural existence outside human society and uses the concept to mean a social force between them, then whether he is aware of it or not, and whether he likes it or not, he has taken a faltering but definite step into the materialist camp.

In the face of a developing scientific culture, the nature of religious belief undergoes gradual but definite qualitative change. Appropriately, it is during National Productivity Year that the Bishop of Woolwich articulates his death wish.

Even in the early 19th century, the economic structure of society was justified as being God-given, and to advocate its change was a sinful and heretical challenge to almighty pre-determination. The relationship between man and God was close and personal. Earthly existence was merely a brief testing time for one's fitness to live eternally in heaven. It was a life in the service of God rather than a life of service

to self. Today, even for those who are yet religious, God is not thought of with the same awesome fear and only a few believe seriously that if life on earth is unsatisfactory, there remains the second chance in heaven. In the space age, the control of man's destiny is gravitating from outer space to earth itself.

Where the working class accepts allegiance to religion, to royalty or the state, or accepts a false ideology or economic subservience to the capitalist class, it denies itself the realisation of its own interests. The poverty of the modern proletariat still results from the fact that its labour operates in commodity form, is bought for wages and exploited by capitalists with a view to profit. To buy a man's labour power and set him to work is to reduce his existence to a commercial transaction and alienate his individuality.

In offering religion in more credible form to an age that is increasingly sceptical, the Bishop of Woolwich seeks to strip it of its supernatural paraphernalia and present it as an indispensable system of morals. But from the time that the Church cornered men's superstitious fear and exploited it with declamations of nature as the created province of the almighty, it has evolved to a position where it is no longer even confident in its dogma and is reduced to weak exhortations to live in good neighbourliness and brotherly love. And even these appeals are nothing more than hypocrisy since at the same time that it spuriously wishes social harmony it condones and supports a competitive economic system whose fundamental feature is the exploitation of men by men.

The evolving technical culture of capitalist society will go on revealing the Church as more and more of an outlandish anachronism and in time will heap greater and greater embarrassment upon its dogma. Yet in spite of this and of the attempts by churchmen to modify the image of the Church and alter its social role, it will retain one enduring characteristic, that of an anti-working class institution. The Church supports the present method of producing and distributing wealth—capitalism. The ideas that it disseminates, its concepts about society, and the universe it trades in, are either irrelevant or hostile to the ideas that the working class requires to achieve its economic emancipation.

Socialists seek the universal brotherhood of men, but for the Church to sloganise ideals and in practice support a system that precludes their realisation, is a worse than hollow gesture, it erects a barrier to their practical achievement. What an organisation that genuinely aspires to social harmony on a world scale should do is relate it to specific social situations within actual experience, and discern and illuminate and explain the reasons why men now behave in a manner contrary to their mutual interests. It should argue a valid social theory and advocate a practical course for political action that offer the sure prospect of the unity of all men based on relations of genuine social equality. Only Socialists do this.

P.L.

PARLIAMENTARY FUND We intend to contest three constituencies at the next General Election. Our coffers are low, time is short. Send your donation now to SPGB Parliamentary Fund, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

Trade Unions fears about funds

We hear stories from time to time about the huge funds alleged to be held by the trade unions. There are jibes about the millions of pounds held in capitalist stocks and shares, or reassurances about how nice it is to see workers' organisations with a stake in the country's wealth.

In fact, it's all a lot of irrelevant bunkum. Take the National Union of Railwaymen as an example.

At their recent annual conference the railwaymen heard some hard words from their auditor. He told them that although their total funds increased by £250,000 to £6½ million, this did not mean a thing. All this money, he said, could be wiped out "literally overnight." Most of it was locked up in investments anyway and even if these could be realised at their full value, which, of course, would be highly unlikely, it would only be enough to provide each member with less than £10.

Strike pay works out at £1 per day, hardly enough to keep a worker and his family in luxury. Ten days on strike and they would blue the lot. No wonder there were no die-hard resolutions about fighting Beeching to the last penny of N.U.R. funds!

Thus is demolished yet another of the myths about workers' affluence. Given favourable economic circumstances under capitalism, the trade unions may be able to bargain rather more effectively. But immediately the economic climate changes for the worse, the shakiness of their bargaining position is ruthlessly exposed.

If the N.U.R. do ever decide to make a do-or-die stand against Beeching, they will need to rely upon more than their £6½ million reserves. They will find their "stake in capitalism" small and transient indeed.

Agricultural exodus

In this country agriculture has become so mechanised that now only 5 per cent.

of the British population depend on the land for their living. In Germany the proportion is 15 per cent., in France, 25 per cent., and in Italy it is as high as 44 per cent.

Even in Britain agricultural workers continue to drift into the towns. Year by year the number of machines increases at the expense of men, and more and more small farmers are forced off their holdings. But in other countries, the flow is even faster, the State actively encouraging this movement by paying small farmers to leave their land or by paying grants towards the amalgamation of smallholdings into bigger farms. But it is the basic economic forces within capitalism itself, in all countries, that provide the main impetus; the peasants are forced inexorably off the land and into the towns and factories.

France is a perfect example. A few years ago it was calculated that about 100,000 people were destined to leave the land every year. Many observers thought this an exaggeration. But now the recent census has shown that this figure, far from being an exaggeration, was in fact a hopeless understatement—no less than a quarter of a million of the rural population are apparently pouring into the towns every year.

At the same time, French agriculture, like the British, is becoming more and more industrialised. Within a few years the number of tractors in the country will be the highest in the world, after the United States and Russia. Inevitably, output continues to rise, to the point where surpluses have already become a grave problem. Equally inevitably, it seems, the problem will get worse, in spite of all the French government can do to find outlets for the increased output.

There have already been many violent peasant demonstrations: this year, it looks as though there will be even more. In Brittany, there have been protests at the entry of North African potatoes whilst the home farmer has been struggling to dispose of his own production (ironically, the British farmers have been making the same bitter complaints

about Breton potatoes undercutting their produce).

In the South of France, there are similar troubles over fruit and tomatoes; the production of peaches, apricots, and tomatoes promises to be higher than ever. At the same time, British farmers are already disquieted about how the French are going to dispose of their forthcoming cereals crop. They fear dumping on a large scale.

All this explains why the French government seem to be taking an easier line over Britain and the Common Market. French agriculture wants freer access to the German market and Germany refuses to budge until France takes an easier line over Britain's eventual entry into the Common Market.

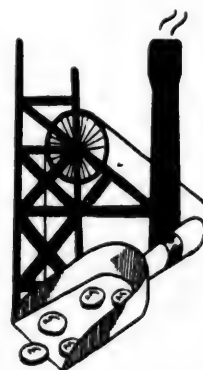
We are going to hear a lot about agriculture in the months to come.

Taxation without tears

We have often commented in these columns about the folly of making wealth comparisons under present day capitalism, without taking taxation into account. Thus, although one-tenth of the population of the country still owns about nine-tenths of its wealth, the gulf seems not half so glaring if one compares incomes, and even less glaring when one compares incomes after tax.

But what is always forgotten when this argument is used to bolster up the idea of the affluent society, and of how much better off the workers are relatively in comparison with the capitalists, is the way in which our capitalists make use of the tax system to add all sorts of hidden emoluments and "perks" to their incomes. Expense accounts on the firm are only the most publicised means they have of achieving this; there are many others, all quite legal and often more rewarding.

The *Sunday Times* recently ran an article which showed wonderfully well



what scope there is, and all above board, for this type of operation.

At the moment, there is a nice market for selling "executive aircraft" to the bigger firms. One such plane is the Hawker Siddeley H.S.125, selling at £200,000, which is hardly a bagatelle even for our bigger capitalists. But so generous are the Inland Revenue with their allowances that, over five years fly-

ing, the firm buying one of these aircraft needs actually to pay out only £35,000 for it.

Ostensibly, of course, these planes are for transporting our businessmen quickly from place to place, so that they can transact their big deals and be back at their big desks the next morning. But if they alternate their business trips with the odd flip to Paris or the South of

France, in company with their wives, friends, and families, who is to know? Plus the usual hotels, good food, the best wines, and any other expenses on the firm, it all works out very nicely and makes a useful tax-free addition to the annual income.

It's an affluent society alright—for those for whom it has always been affluent, the capitalist class.

S. H.

New towns for old



CONTRARY to common thought the creation of New Towns after the last war was not a new thing. Over the last 200 years many towns have been constructed for non-economic and non-geographic reasons and their development has been planned. Examples of these are Washington and Canberra, and more recently New Delhi. In this category of political capitals with planned development Brasilia is the most recent example.

In Britain, prior to the war, garden cities had been built at Letchworth and Welwyn. Even earlier John Laird had begun Birkenhead as a new town and Stephenson had built a New Town at Ashford.

After World War II a number of countries, including Russia, Poland and Czechoslovakia, constructed new towns to house workers for specific industries.

In the U.K. the aim of the New Town Act of 1946 was to attract industry and population away from areas of congestion. These new towns were to be modelled on the Garden Cities of Letchworth and Welwyn, and were to provide gracious, healthy living conditions.

The basic pattern has been the "neighbourhood" system. This provides for a city centre with satellite neighbourhood centres catering for immediate needs and community recreation. By 1960 there were fifteen such towns in various stages of development.

It was thought that the major problem would be to align housing construction, industrial expansion and essential services. In fact, the first problem to arise was that of school places and accommodation, followed by the lack of facilities for adolescent recreation. These problems were obviously related to the age structure of the new communities. Older people do not easily cut their ties with an area and move, consequently New Towns tend to have populations of young people with dependent families.

Another complaint has been that most New Towns are difficult to distinguish one from the other, in general being monotonously alike in appearance, with the streets too wide and the houses remote. They are thus neither urban or rural, and as most dwellers in new towns came from urban areas with many close neighbours they have found this low-density living plan unneighbourly.

Further, coming from different areas to the New Town the citizens take time to make friends. This, coupled with the fact that their previous neighbourhood is seldom all that far away, enabling them to keep up old friendships, has retarded the growth of community spirit.

It was intended that these communities would cater for all the needs of the community—work, shelter and leisure. New

Towns in the London area have numbers of commuters using train and car to take them to town. They have a tendency to be dormitory towns, with people working in London gaining their recreation there before returning late in the evening. The isolation of the wives, lack of recreation for the adolescents, long tiring journeys to and from town, have developed what has become known as New Town Blues.

It is apparent that the planners of New Towns did not see far enough ahead. *The Guardian* recently reported Mr. Henry Wells, the former chairman of the Hemel Hempstead Development Corporation, as being of the opinion that if they had known the motor-car age was upon them, they would have produced "a very different sort of town." He said that Hemel Hempstead was "in the light of current thought, an old town."

Workers in New Towns have no more security than workers elsewhere. The job is not theirs, it is their employers! They have experienced short time, redundancy, unemployment, as workers at Hatfield, Stevenage and Peterlee can testify.

The blame, as always, has been put on the Government. They lacked foresight, they did not institute research into the needs of New Town communities, they withheld capital which would have created diversity, they did not bring about conditions which would have attracted community leaders from the professional strata to live in New Towns. In one sense it is true that the Government can be blamed—for like all reformist governments it claims to have solutions for the various ills of capitalism. But as the Socialist knows, no one can control capitalism in the interests of the working class. The new way of living in New Towns has not been achieved and workers live under the same economic and social pressure of capitalism, as workers elsewhere. The problem of a new way of life is not soluble under capitalism. In this sense the blame is not with the government, but with workers who support Conservative, Labour and all reformist parties.

Capitalism would like workers to be housed efficiently and cheaply. This would raise their productive capacity and improve their physical and mental health. But capital must be invested where the return is greatest, and workers' wages do not allow them to pay for efficient, gracious housing.

If workers really want "New Towns" and a new "way of living" the only way is by the establishment of Socialism. Then and only then will they be able to construct dwellings to suit their requirements.

KK.

THE PASSING SHOW

Mr. Wilson on class

In a recent interview published in the *Observer*, Harold Wilson, Leader of the Labour Party, made some extraordinary statements. Among other things he said:

The Labour Party must represent the whole country. If you mean what class do I think I am—well, what is the answer? Elementary school, Oxford common room, what does it add up to? There are millions of people—trained, skilled, professional—for whom these phrases about class are becoming more and more meaningless. The white coat, the growing technological character of modern industry is making some of the old battlegrounds unreal.

Wilson apparently thinks that if a worker can speak grammatically, or do a skilled job, he is no longer a worker. It seems that in some unexplained way the worker can, in Wilson's view, become a capitalist by taking English lessons at night school. What a maze of unreality must surround a man who thinks that wearing a white coat instead of overalls alters a man's class position in society. And the statement that "the Labour Party must represent the whole country" is merely ridiculous when put against the fact of the vast chasm which yawns between the ten per cent. of haves and the ninety per cent. of have-nots.

There are no prizes for the answer to Wilson's question about what class in society he is in. In fact, the answer is here—if he has enough property to live without working, he is a member of the upper class; if not, he is a worker. There are also no prizes for the answer to this question—in whose class interest is Wilson working? With his talk about "representing the whole country" and his denial that the class struggle even exists, the answer is crystal clear: Wilson is working in the interest of the capitalist class.

Too much

Earlier in the same series, Wilson actually committed himself to the following remarks:

Quite honestly, I've never read *Das Kapital*. I got only as far as page two—that's where the footnote is nearly a page long. I felt that two sentences of main text and a page of footnote were too much.

This is despite his own claim that "economics became his field."

Mr. Wilson was apparently in such a haze that he could not distinguish page two from page fifty-two, or the beginning of a chapter from the end of it. The first footnotes in *Das Kapital* which might reduce the main text to this extent are the ones that concern Ricardo, at the end of chapter one, on commodities. In the edition nearest to hand (William Glaiser, London, 1909) these footnotes begin at page fifty-two. In no conceivable edition could they come on page two.

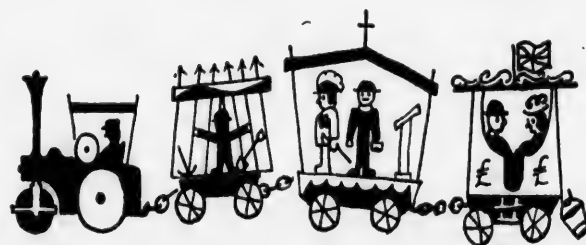
But what a pity that Wilson was not able to overcome the tremendous hurdle presented to his comprehension by some rather long footnotes (he was, after all, only an Oxford lecturer on economics).



essential reading

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He might have learned that there is more to a man's position in society than the colour of the coat he wears. He might even have learned that there are two classes in society—an owning class, and a working class. One feels that he might not have survived the shock.

Fruits of victory

Colonial "freedom fighters," leaders of "independence movements," run so true to form as soon as their countries have achieved their "independence" that it becomes almost farcical. Once they themselves are in power, once the native capitalist class has ousted the imperialists, their tune always changes immediately and abruptly. They always make the same speech to warn all the suckers who supported the "independence movements," thinking it would make a radical change, that the workers' position will be exactly what it was before; only the nationality of the exploiters has changed.

Jomo Kenyatta is the latest to make this speech (*The Times*, 29/5/63):

We are not going to compromise our independence by begging for assistance. The Government will make it quite clear that our progress, our hopes, our ambitions will be fulfilled only if we have hard work from every citizen.

So now the struggle is over, we've all fought hard, victory has been won: and your reward is—a lot more hard work, and don't you forget it.

And yet the workers all over the world still go on falling for these confidence tricks.

It's easy for some

Two small girls, one nine, the other twelve, are "to share in a £25,000,000 development scheme in Hampstead, London. The investment has been given to them by their father, 42-year-old property man Mr. Peter Robins (*Sunday Express*, 28/4/63). By the time the girls are respectively nineteen and sixteen, they should have an income of about £10,000 per year each.

The way to get into the capitalist class, the capitalists tell us, is to work hard and save. But the capitalists themselves always seem to start off by being capitalists. It's certainly a lot quicker when Daddy gives you such a lovely start, isn't it?

ALWYN EDGAR.

THE RACIAL PROBLEM Conflict in the U.S.A.

Our comrades in North America are making most effective use of the radio in putting over the case for Socialism. They recently broadcast a talk over WBCN in Boston on the current racial disturbances in the United States. We believe that this on-the-spot Socialist analysis will be of interest to our readers and have pleasure in reproducing it below.

IT TOOK place in Birmingham, Alabama. Thousands filled the streets, hundreds of Negroes were jailed. The police and firemen used water and vicious dogs on the marching men, women, and children who practiced, as they marched, the doctrine of non-violence. Then an agreement was reached by the Negro spokesmen and the committee of the "white power structure" made up of a group of "white" civic and business leaders.

A week before, swarms of Negroes overwhelmed the police lines and swept through the downtown area, so state troopers were called in to reinforce the local police.

After Birmingham was quiet for a few days the "white" activists struck. They bombed houses in the dead of the night of May 10, also a motel where many of the Negro leaders were staying. The reaction was a renewed frenzied wave of emotion. Mobs roamed the streets smashing windows, overturning cabs and seeking revenge. The situation finally was subdued but not until President Kennedy sent some 3,000 Federal troops to the area and alerted the national guard.

Whether the situation in Birmingham, Alabama, breaks out anew or remains quiet, there still will be the large question that the events in that city are bringing into focus. Where is the racial problem in the United States heading?

Throughout these remarks, when we refer to Negroes, we have in mind the overwhelming majority—the exploited Negro workers. Their interests are basically as one with the workers everywhere. There is a small section of the negroes who are capitalists (some millionaires, but mostly petty capitalists) and these have a common interest with their fellow capitalists, regardless of colour, country or creed.

This is the fourth of a series and we welcome this opportunity to make our case known to you, our listeners. We have limited funds as we are supported

only by our membership and sympathizers. However, we are expending our funds and our energies in this manner because we seek your attention and your support.

Capitalism is beset with all kinds of problems. Last week we focused our attention on war, and we would be pleased if those who listened would communicate with us so that we might know how you feel. Tonight we will deal with the Racial Problem.

We maintain that it is not enough to be informed. It is important to have a point of view. We cannot be indifferent to our fellows having segregation forced on them, treated like inferiors, denied equal opportunities, and worse. We maintain that prejudice is basically economic. There are more than twice as many Negro workers unemployed as there are so-called White workers out of work. The question of racial discrimination is rooted in economic prejudice.

Why are more Negroes unemployed? Why is there an unemployment problem? It is our thesis that unemployment is inexcusable. That the profitability of the capitalist arrangement is dependent on having unemployment, as well as on other factors. The employers need a reserve army of men and women out of work for two good reasons:

1. In order that those who are working will properly respect their jobs and fear the loss thereof, and
2. To keep wages in check.

Supply and demand would send the price of labour-power (wages) soaring if there were not millions of workers looking desperately for job openings. For the capitalists it is a good thing to have their workers hungry and apprehensive and not too independent. This, incidentally, is another illustration of the conflict of interests that separates society into classes.

What does the worker want? He wants employment... steady... at top pay.

What does the boss want? He wants a labour pool available in order to select his workers and at wages that are as low as possible. The more workers competing for each job, the lower will be the rate that the employer will have to pay.

And the thing that marks off our contemporary times is the wholesale introduction of automation. What does this do? It throws out of work and into the

street those workers whose skills are displaced by these new monster machines. The expression in economic statistics is no longer unemployment, but—disemployment. In the steel industry alone hundreds of thousands are out of jobs and due to these new methods and machines they will never be recalled. These new processes in the mass production industries that displaced labour (which, of course, is the primary reason for their introduction) have now created a level of unemployment that has remained constant for many years. It will go higher, it cannot go lower.

Now it seems that we have strayed from our subject. Not so. As a matter of practice the first group to be affected by disemployment is the unskilled worker. As a matter of reality, the Negroes make up a large percentage of the unskilled population. And the viciousness of the circle becomes even more acute because the Negroes are the first and the worst affected. They are the first to be fired and the last to be hired.

Our contention is that capitalism breeds unemployment. Just as my colleague demonstrated last week that war is inevitable, given the relationship of rival, competitive nations, we maintain that racial discrimination can only be eliminated when we get rid of capitalism with its prejudice-breeding competition for jobs.

Let us spend a moment on the subject of racial prejudice. We might start by asking ourselves: What is "race"? Because of the factor of time we will content ourselves with making a few general observations on the question and immediately refer anyone who wants to explore this subject further to our literature list in *The Western Socialist*. It might be of interest to those of our listeners who have never heard of the World Socialist Party that we are part of an international group of organizations that have in common a Declaration of Socialist Principles. There is besides our own party, the Socialist Parties of Canada, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and the World Socialist Party of Ireland. One of the Principles which unite us is particular apropos at this time: "... The emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex."

So once again, what is "race"? Biologically, there is no such thing as race. If ever there was such a concept, modern investigation discloses that the mixing and mingling of the human animal homo sapiens, through the centuries and over the continents has completely sullied the purity of any grouping. The colour of a man's skin, the shape of his head, the thickness of his lips, the kinkiness of his hair, his height, his weight only proves how varied is Man. In Hawaii the mixing process of different groupings is in its infancy and already it is high impossible to identify any individual. In Brazil the Indians and the Europeans and the Negroes are so fused that there is no Indian problem. Nor is there a European problem or a Negro problem. In the United States where chattel slavery existed until 1865, the Negroes were imprisoned in one sector of the country. Upon their legal release at the end of the Civil War and all the way up until the events in Birmingham, they have still remained imprisoned by economic shackles. This may be a good time to define slavery.

It was Shakespeare who wrote: "He who owns the means by which I live, owns my very life." The southern Negro escaped from chattel slavery into wage slavery. Under the former he worked for a master from sun-up until sun-down and in return he received his grub, hand-me-down rags and a roof over his head. Under the wages system, the worker toils by the clock for a boss in return for which he gets an amount of money, which barely enables him to buy food, clothing and shelter to maintain himself and his family, so that he can go back to repeat the process. Most workers will resent the description of

their lot as slavery. And we answer that none are so blind as those who will not see. This is not the time for too much elaboration but suffice it to say that the government statistics support this description. Average wages of the industrial workers faithfully match the cost of living index.

Following the Civil War some Negroes came North looking for freedom and opportunity. However, with few exceptions, most were herded into ghettos—Harlems and South Ends—and in the competition for the available jobs, they were always the scapegoats. They were forced to accept menial work as servants, as elevator operators, dishwashers and worse.

Today the situation is aggravated by events taking place elsewhere. The world is in turmoil. The drive to exploit every possibility on the part of imperialist nations finally has caused Africa to explode. What formerly was anti-colonialism now is a demand for independence. The Negroes now constituting approximately 10 per cent. of the population in the United States are showing signs of being fed up with being pushed around. They are still segregated, not only down South where the vestiges of the past persist, but in the North as well. And they resent it. The Negroes are segregated but they are not excommunicated. They listen to TV and read newspapers. Every channel of communication flashes the injustice of their lot. Some turn to extremes such as the Black Muslim movement. Others are influenced by the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) and many other groups. It is the Socialist analysis that to get rid of so-called race prejudice there is only one

method, to get rid of its cause, capitalism. There is no other way.

Previously we related the fact of unemployment and tied it in with competition for jobs breeding prejudice. How do the current political leaders deal with this? Their approach is tragically ludicrous. How do they propose to reduce unemployment? By reducing taxes! With the reasoning that this will give the economy a shot in the arm, stimulate business and, lo and behold!, unemployment will be lessened. This is like throwing the tide back by using a bucket.

The alternative that we propose is Socialism. Under Socialism the causes of race-prejudice will no longer exist. The entire population will cooperate in producing all the things required by society. Each person will contribute, irrespective of differences, what he is able to society—and will take from society what he needs. Under Socialism competition between human beings will cease to exist. Privilege will be abolished. People will live in harmony.

This is one of the few opportunities we have to underscore an important element in the Socialist case. Usually we get involved in answering away so many misconceptions about Socialism that we fail to bring home the fact that we stand for world cooperation—common ownership and democratic control. And in the language of every Socialist the expression Comrade is used, not in the derisive sense it has come to mean due to the distortion of our ideas when seen through the caricature in the U.S.S.R., but in a manner of addressing our brothers, joined in the greatest job in the world today, the job of educating and organizing for a Socialist world.

Companion Parties

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.
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SOCIALIST PARTY OF

NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Petone.
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF

THE UNITED STATES

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

Branch News



To give full details of the amazing work being done by "Our Man in Cornwall" would fill a whole issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD. Here we can report only briefly the activities of our comrade in St. Austell, St. Blazey, Callington, Looe, Bodmin, Liskeard, Wadebridge, Rylla Mill (Village Fair), Par, Saltash and Torpoint. He is circulating our literature throughout the West Country. Think of all the work in-

involved in getting from place to place, talking to workers, attending political meetings, day in and day out, sending lengthy reports to Head Office. Our comrade can have little time for rest—his leisure is propagating Socialism. Due to an illness, this member was prescribed a diet, but this does not explain his recent loss of weight from 13½ stones to 11½ stones. He comments that he feels fine and hopes that before long, new branches will be formed in the West Country. When this happens, the work he has done will have speeded the day.

After 20 years existence as Ealing Branch and 10 years in its meeting place near Ealing Broadway, the Branch has changed both its meeting place and its name. Over the years, particularly after the promotion of Wembley Branch, many members have gravitated away from Ealing and it has become inescapable that a move nearer the centre of London would be generally more

convenient. And so the die has been cast! The Branch is now the **West London Branch** and meets at Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall, Hammersmith, a few minutes' walk from Hammersmith Broadway. All members have been informed of the new meeting place and it is hoped that many of those who found the journey to Ealing too inconvenient will be able to attend the new premises more easily. A cordial invitation is also extended to those members formerly belonging to Fulham Branch, and to all other members and sympathisers resident in the area.

The Branch is also optimistic that the new meeting place will be a convenient point of contact for sympathisers from the outdoor meetings at Earls Court. These have been very successful so far, the weather has been generally kind, with good audiences and literature sales. It is hoped to follow up this activity with a particularly wide range of lectures, discussions, and film shows during the winter season.

Wood Green and Hornsey Branch have been active in Tottenham. Branch members attended a film-show organised by Tottenham C.N.D. and effectively criticised C.N.D. policy before an audience of 50 people. This criticism was repeated in a letter printed in the local press. The Branch was also invited to send a speaker to the Tottenham Young Socialists and a comrade addressed an audience of over 50 who showed great interest. A further address is being arranged on the subject of C.N.D. Please note change of branch address in the Branch Directory.

Camberwell Branch, with the Propaganda Committee has organised at Battersea Town Hall on Wednesday, August 14th at 7.30. Title and full details advertised in this issue. All available comrades should make every endeavour to support this meeting by bringing along friends, selling literature and as much cash for the collection as they can afford.

The title of the meeting is **Labourism or Socialism**. Comrades C. May and D. McCarthy are the speakers. Battersea Town Hall is near Clapham Junction.

World Socialist Party of Ireland. Good work is being done in **Belfast**. The members are holding a *Seven Days for Socialism* during the third week in September. The idea is to devote an entire week to Socialist propaganda work. The Branch members will canvass the **SOCIALIST STANDARD** and *Western Socialist* with a suitable leaflet. At least two outdoor and one indoor meetings will be held. The Branch is contesting Duncairn and Sharkhill Wards in the Municipal elections next May and the week of propaganda will be held in these areas and will be the start of the election campaign. An election fund will be opened and candidates will be selected in September.

Armagh Branch continues with its canvassing with good results. Press advertisements inserted in Dublin, Belfast, Portadown and Armagh have brought in good results and it is expected that the results shown from Dublin will help Comrades to become even more active.

P.H.

BOOK: **Power**, by Howard Fast (Methuen 21s.)

Miners in the U.S.A.

Howard Fast has added another story to the many dealing with the bitter struggles of the American Trade Union Movement in the 1920's and 30's. His latest novel, *Power*, deals with a particular section, the mineworkers, and it is a tale of horror and bloodshed.

In those days the mine owners ("mine operators" Fast calls them) were quite prepared to use armed might against union organisers and striking workers. Threats, intimidation, violence and murder, none of these were shunned by the company police in their efforts to remove the threat to their bosses' profit margins. It is not really surprising, then, that mineworkers responded in like measure.

Fast builds his plot around two main figures—Ben Holt, a local mineworkers' leader, and Alvin Cutter, a young New York journalist who is sent to cover a strike which Holt is organising in West Virginia. "All characters . . . are fictitious . . ." says the usual caution at the front of the book, but the background against which the tale is told is certainly far from fiction. Like their British counterparts, the U.S. miners suffered terrible privations in those days. Tattered, hungry and emaciated, it is astonishing that they managed to fight back at all, and many were their defeats before they won even the legal right to organise.

Mr. Fast tells us all this, and more. Ben Holt endures agony with the rest of his men in the opening stages, but he is

quick to realise the possibilities which leadership of the union holds for him. He claws his way to the union presidency, the very top, and ends up with a yearly salary of fifty thousand dollars. The rank and file, meanwhile, are struggling for a national minimum of four dollars an hour. It is, in fact, a familiar story of trade union leadership generally in recent years. Here in Britain, it has gone a stage further and we are quite used to ex-T.U. men being appointed to lucrative posts by the government, to say nothing of the knighthoods which are dished out from time to time. We know, too, that mineworkers—and others—have had to come out on strike often in the teeth of opposition and even denunciation from their own elected officials.

Power is a hard-hitting book. It does not make its characters any more lovable than they need be. But then the story is hardly a pretty one. The struggling trade unionists of yesterday had to put up with naked and open brutality in their efforts to organise for better pay and conditions. That sort of thing is a rarity now, but we still have to battle with our employers over wages, hours, and the like. So in that sense, nothing has changed, and this is the point we can appreciate in retrospect when reading a book like this. It is a fight which is unceasing so long as it is confined to such a field. It will end only when the issue has broadened to embrace the very ownership of the means of life, and has been won.

E. T. C.

Meetings

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays:

Hyde Park, 3.30 and 6.30 pm
Beresford Square, Woolwich, 8 pm
East Street, Walworth

August 4th (noon)

" 11th (11 am)

" 18th (noon)

" 25th (11 am)

Mondays: Lincolns Inn Fields 1-2 pm

Wednesdays: Outside Charing Cross Underground Station, Villiers Street, 7.30 p.m.

Thursdays:

Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm

Earls Court, 8 pm

Hyde Park, 8 pm

Fridays: Earls Court, 8 pm

Saturdays: Hyde Park, 7.30 pm

A CLARIFICATION

It has been pointed out to us that a phrase in our reply to a C.N.D. correspondent in the June S.S. could be capable of misinterpretation.

In the penultimate paragraph of our reply we said: "Thus the S.P.G.B. will never come to power, never form a government."

Whilst this does not mean that the Socialist delegates elected to Parliament will form a government in the accepted sense, it does mean that they will use the power obtained to take the necessary steps to establish Socialism.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. B. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London E.C.

THE SOVIET ECONOMY

Changing Russia



LAST JANUARY the Union of Soviet Journalists decided to invite a team of *Economist* reporters to tour Russia. The fruit of this visit, which took place in May, appeared as an article at the beginning of June entitled "Changing Russia?" and gives us an interesting insight into the forces at work there.

Until now Russian capitalist industry has never had it so good. It has enjoyed a sellers' market. There have been shortages all round which has meant that anything produced could be sold whatever its quality. But the situation is rapidly changing. Sections of industry are finding they cannot sell their products so easily. To overcome this, bargain prices and hire purchase have been introduced. No doubt the high-powered advertising we know in the West is not far away.

Against this background must be seen the proposals of Professor Liberman for reform of the industrial incentive system. Production in Russia is capitalist though this has been obscured by superficial differences between industrial organisation in Russia and the self-confessedly capitalist countries of the West. "In the Soviet Union today," says the article, "the director of each factory is given target figures of the gross output he should seek to obtain and the costs per unit at which he should aim (plus bonuses for himself and his workers if he overfulfils them), as well as control figures on the amount of labour he may hire, the wages he must pay, and the amount of investment he can undertake. In a capitalist economy he is provided with the same sort of economic indicators by a free market." If Liberman's proposals were adopted, on the other hand, Russian industry would come nearer to that of the West. He has suggested that the industrial enterprises be required not only to fulfil their plans but also, as the *Economist* puts it, "to strive harder to produce the things that would be most profitable in the present state of market demand."

The development of the productive forces and the spread of capitalist relations into the countryside has created a larger working class dependent entirely on money-wages in order to live. This has led to an increased demand for consumer goods. Now that its power stations, steel works, machine tool factories and the like have been built, Russian industry has reached a position where it can meet this.

These economic changes are the basis of the growing liberal-

isation in Russia. The conservative elements who see their positions threatened are trying to resist these changes, but their efforts would appear vain. The 1917 Revolution overthrew Tsarist Absolutism and allowed nascent Russian capitalist industry to develop more freely and rapidly, but only at the expense of submitting the country to a more barbarous absolutism, the Stalinist regime. Now this absolutism has in its turn become a fetter on capitalist expansion and is being cast aside.

Experience has shown that a modern capitalist country cannot for long be run on police-state lines but only with the consent, even if passive, of the mass of the workers. For this reason we may see even bigger changes yet—the emergence of political democracy for instance. This is what history teaches us to expect. Changes in economic circumstances cause corresponding changes in the political, legal, ideological and literary superstructure. This is precisely what has been happening in Russia recently.

Russia now has the productive forces of a developed capitalist country yet still the political regime of a developing country. This contradiction shows itself in the disagreements between the liberal and conservative elements in Russia, in the campaign against police excesses, in the demand for more freedom of expression in poetry and art, in the Liberman controversy and in anti-Stalinism. Russian industry has developed to such a stage that political and other changes are required before it can develop further. Once liberalisation has triumphed in Russia, as it will, the capitalist character of Russian industry will have become more obvious. Russia will lose its attraction in "left-wing" circles. History, by destroying the illusion that Russia is Socialist, will once again have done our work for us.

One final point. It appears that industrial techniques are not all that the Russian rulers have learned from the West. The reporters mention as one of the official evasions the claim that "the large number of savings bank accounts proves that wealth is evenly distributed"! More interesting is the comment which follows. "In fact," explain the reporters, "it is common practice for the wealthy to avoid conspicuousness by operating several separate accounts." Yes, Russia has a wealthy privileged class too. Which is what we've been saying for years.

A. L. B.

RALLY
BATTERSEA
TOWN HALL

Questions
Discussion

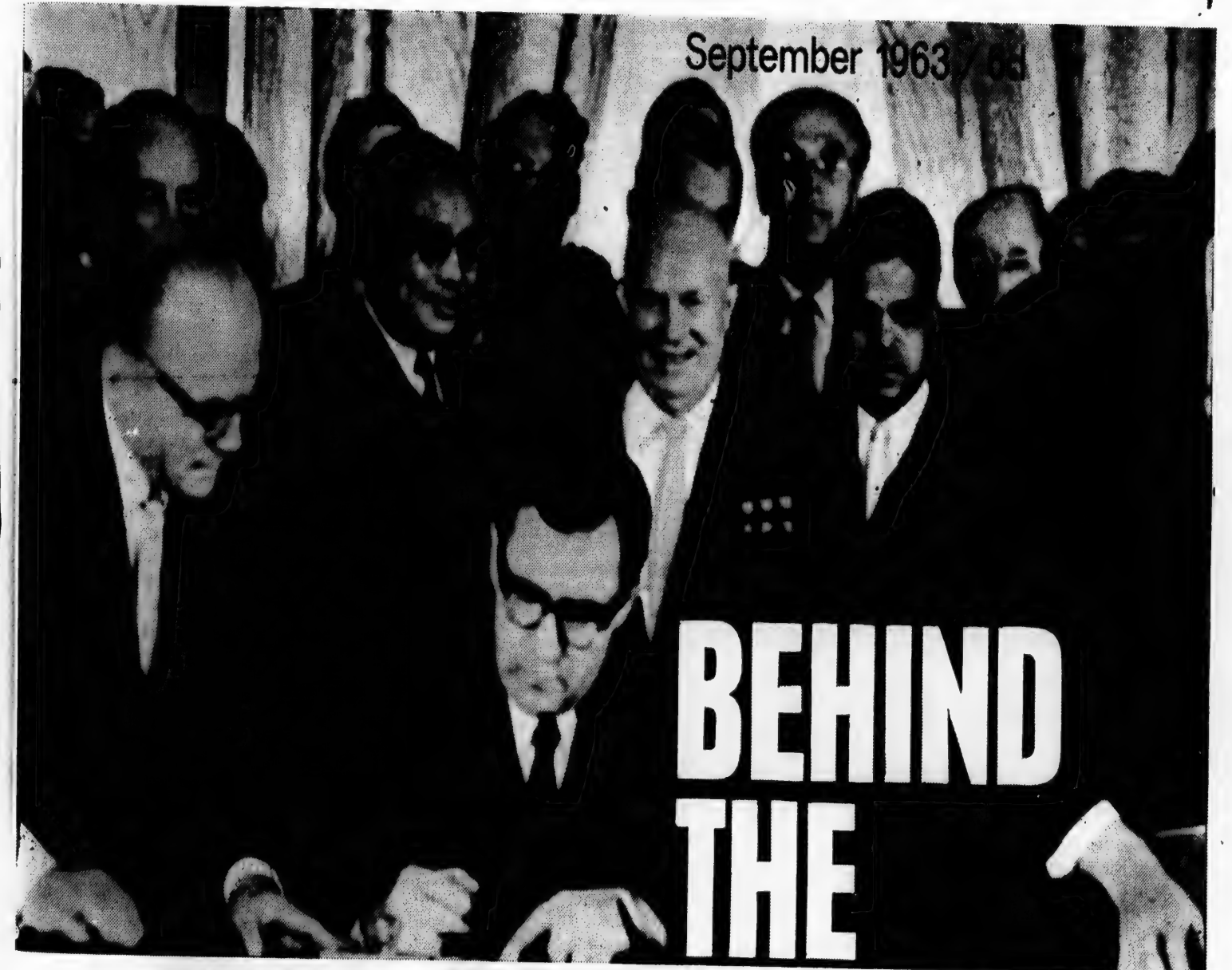
Wednesday 14th August 7.30 p.m.

LABOURISM or SOCIALISM

Speakers C. May D. McCarthy

Official Journal
of the Socialist
Party of Great
Britain and the
World Socialist
Party of Ireland

Socialist Standard



TEST BAN TREATY

page 140

Also in this number

HOMES FOR WAGE SLAVES

YUGOSLAVIA TODAY

VICE - 1913 VERSION

CRUSADE FOR GOLD

MAN'S DEGRADATION

Cynicism is the quality which politicians must have if they are to run Capitalism. They learn to sign on the dotted line with their tongues in their cheeks and a ready smile for the cameramen. And how much, do you think, does that make their signature worth? And will the Test Ban Treaty really work? It is more than likely that the nuclear powers will one day start their tests again. And when the Moscow Treaty does go into the waste paper basket it will find itself nestling alongside any number of equally ballyhooed predecessors.

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

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BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY Thursdays 5th and 19th, Sept. 7.30 pm. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

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EALING. See WEST LONDON.

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of Great Britain and the World
Socialist Party of Ireland



SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

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WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets 4th Sunday of each month at the Head Office, 5 Granville Buildings, 53 High Street, Belfast 1, at 3.30 pm. Next meeting September, 22nd.

NEWS IN REVIEW	136
What do they stand for?	
Rachman, a scapegoat	
Criminal waste	
Mail train robbery	
NATURAL DISASTERS	137
YUGOSLAVIA TODAY	138
POVERTY IN THE USA	139
BEHIND THE TEST BAN TREATY .	140
BRANCH NEWS	141
MAN'S DEGRADATION	142
FINANCE AND INDUSTRY	143
The end of the publican	
Down with money	
Wage restraint	
The role of gold	
HOMES FOR WAGE SLAVES . . .	145
BOOKS: CRUSADE FOR GOLD .	146
VICE-1913 VERSION	147
HIGH WAGE MYTH	148

THE BIG QUESTION

The Test Ban Treaty

Over the recently signed Test Ban Treaty there hangs a massive, inevitable question. Elsewhere in this issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD we discuss some of the implications of the Treaty and the possible reasons for it. Briefly, the big nuclear powers have come to an agreement to stop atmospheric testing because of a recent shift in the balance of power in the world.

The Soviet Union, which has tried for so long to control the potential might of China, has now apparently given up and in some ways has thrown in its lot with the Western bloc. China must now step up its efforts to master the secrets of nuclear weapons which the Soviet Union has refused to give them.

If the present situation develops much further we may see a massively powerful, nuclear armed China on the one hand, gathering as many allies among the new Eastern and African states as it can, and on the other—almost the whole of the rest of the world. By no means is this an attractive prospect.

The result of the Test Ban Treaty can only be, then, another big power line-up in the world and a continuation of the old, ruthless struggle. The only difference will be that the sides will have changed and perhaps the areas of dispute. The basic conflict of capitalist interest will remain unaltered. For the majority of people in the world—for the working class—this will bring further insecurity, further tension, perhaps in the end the unimaginable terror of a mighty conflagration.

And the question is: What will they do about it? The Test Ban Treaty is typical of all the pacts and agreements which capitalist powers make between themselves. All these pacts, at best, only shuffle the cards into different, no less menacing, combinations. This does not, of course, prevent the politicians presenting each treaty as a step towards peace, as a cause for rejoicing among the working class.

And the big question is: Will the working class believe them? Will they reflect upon the history of all the treaties which have been solemnly and ceremoniously signed only to be broken when the very time came for them to be kept? Upon the many pacts of non-aggression which have preceded the signatories making war upon each other? Upon the fruitless discussions which have taken place with none of the participants seriously intending to settle anything?

Will the working class take the trouble to think into the facts about the big power divisions in the world? Will they ask themselves why the powers' interests are opposed, so often and so frighteningly? Why, indeed, there are powers, separate nations big and small? These are the sort of questions which the Test Ban Treaty should bring to mind, once again.

Capitalism is now a futile social system. It cannot unite the human race—it can only divide it catastrophically. It cannot serve human interests—it can only deny and damage them. It cannot solve its problems, such as war, but only continue to produce them in one form or another.

The only way out of this insane maze is to get rid of capitalism and replace it with Socialism. Will the working class realise this? Before the desperate conflicts of capitalism make it, for many of them, too late?

What do they stand for?

It is obviously time for somebody to remind the nuclear disarmament movement what they are supposed to stand for.

Remember the days when they only inscribed upon their banners slogans about banning the bomb? When they appealed that everyone, regardless of their political views, could co-operate in the appeal to save us from nuclear destruction? When they trotted out tame Tories (in much the same way as the Tories trot out tame trade unionists) to try to prove this point?

You do remember? Well, forget it.

The recent demonstrations organised by the Committee of 100 against bad housing, and against the Greek government, show that the unilateralists are going the same way as the other reformist organisations which have sprung up full of fire, have had their day and have vanished.

This process has followed a familiar, wearisome pattern. As unilateralism has failed to have any impact upon that great mass of working class votes which so faithfully support capitalism, the movement has found itself confronted with a choice.

It could have stuck to its original purpose and declined quickly into the ranks of the organisations whose objects may sound very desirable, but have no relevance to the needs of capitalism. Or like any other reformist group, it could have looked out for fresh fields to exploit.

This is what the unilateralists have done, which is not to say that their new preoccupation with issues like democracy in Greece will win them any more support than they gained from advocating banning the bomb. Here, once again, is evidence that, even on their own terms, reformist organisations are seldom logical.

It was not from any notion of superiority, nor any wish to detach ourselves from the problems of capitalism (if that were possible) that we said from the beginning that the nuclear disarmament

movement would go the same way as the rest. We have seen so much of this in the past. There is no satisfaction now in seeing our forecast proved correct.

Because as each reformist movement rises and dies, it absorbs the energies and the enthusiasm of the very people who should be working for the new social order which will settle the things they fear and dislike once and for all.

Rachman, a scapegoat

As a scapegoat, Peter Rachman had just about everything. Fat. Balding. Property speculator. Keeping women. Just the man, in fact, to vent a little spleen on if you have been kicked out of your house or if you envy somebody else's ability to buy feminine favours.

And a scapegoat Rachman has been made, not least by the Labour Party in their transparently clever attempt to win votes by using what they know of Rachman's affairs to attack the Rent Act.

So perhaps a word or two to put Rachman in his place will not come amiss.

First of all, it is nonsense to suggest that it was the Rent Act which gave Rachman his chance. As the papers have pointed out, the heavy glove boys operated against precisely the people who were still protected under the Act.

What Rachman did was to exploit the loopholes in the housing laws and to hide his transactions in a maze of legal complications. This is something which will happen, provided it is profitable, whether there is a Rent Act or not.

Capitalism has always been interested in the cost of housing, because working class rents can have an explosive effect upon wages—and upon an election. The shady operator knows that it can often be very remunerative to probe for the weak spots in the law and when he has found them to exploit them to the full.

If Rachman had not cast his shadow in the field of property speculation he

may well have made his pile in some other way. Or indeed, if Rachman had never lived there would have been somebody else to do exactly the same sort of unsavoury deal.

In any case, was not Rachman, in a way, one of capitalism's heroes? A penniless refugee who became a self-made man of riches? Who is to say that, if his gamble on the oilfields in the North had come off, he may not have become a nationally respected man, his racketeering days forgotten, and ended his life with a title?

Why not? It has happened before.

If the Rachman story is sordid, if it shows up a sort of human behaviour which is unpleasant, if it evokes some of the most regrettable of human reactions—it is only typical of capitalist society itself.

Criminal waste

The trains which, packed to suffocation, are pulling out of the big cities, and the roads to the coast wedged tight with traffic, tell us that holiday time is here and with it one of capitalism's silly seasons.

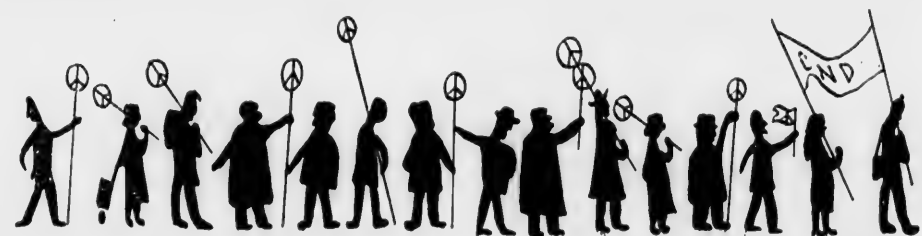
High summer is the time when all sorts of fruit and salad is liable to be produced in such abundance that the price falls to the point when it becomes economical for the farmers to plough the stuff back into the ground or leave it rotting on the trees.

But now here is another, even sillier, example of the waste which the profit motive brings with it—one which need not happen only at the height of summer.

The Times of July 31st last reported that Cerebos Ltd., of Hartlepool, plans to dump a hundred tons of meat and fish paste into the sea *because they are changing the shapes of their jars*.

Hartlepool is in the stricken North-East; perhaps some of the unemployed up there would not say no to a few free jars of fish paste. Or perhaps the stuff might help out with some of the underfed children of the world.

Never mind. Presumably some accountant somewhere has worked out that it will be cheaper for Cerebos to sink the pastes. Just like any other company,



they have to keep a close eye on their balance sheet.

Silly is too mild a word to describe the social system which not only allows the criminal waste of the world's resources but actually, at times, requires and encourages it.

Mail Train robbery

The two-and-a-half million pound mail train robbery was audacious and glamorous enough to have come from the pen of the most imaginative crime fiction writer.

In that, it was typical of a recent strengthening trend in crime. The big, well planned robbery is becoming increasingly profitable for the crooks and so more and more of a headache for the police.

This is hardly surprising. The existence of private property elevates money into the key to a secure life. The

moneyed man is always the privileged man and he does his best to make sure that he keeps both the money and the privileges.

There are plenty of such privileged—and honoured—men whose wealth has been amassed from the exploitation of the other class in society. Or perhaps they inherited it from their ancestors' historical equivalent of the Cheddington hold-up.

This sort of wealth is respectable—it has come from what has been well called legal robbery, which conforms to capitalism's needs and so its moralities.

Robbery, forgery, embezzlement, and so on, do not conform and the men who try to get rich by practising them are anything but honoured.

Be that as it may, crime is inevitable as long as capitalism lasts; offences against property make up the overwhelming majority of crimes today. Capitalism without crime, in fact, is simply impossible.

Ironically, it is capitalism itself which asks for some of its crime. Do not the armed forces, so essential to capitalism,

encourage just the sort of knowledge and the mental attitudes which are useful in a desperate, quickfire robbery?

The driver of the Cheddington train said that one of the gang advised him to keep quiet because there were some "right bastards" there. Well, it is the "right bastard" who makes an excellent Commando or bomber pilot.

All of this is not to justify nor to condone the criminal. Indeed, any one who tried to take away from the Cheddington gang any of the money they have stolen would soon find that, in their own unmistakable way, they are as firm in their support of property rights as any bank boardroom.

Capitalism is an unpleasant social system and crime is only one of its many excrescences.



NATURAL DISASTERS

MAN'S CREATION of the wonderful technical marvels that dominate our modern world tend to make us forget the latent destructive forces of nature. It is only when a catastrophe such as the recent earthquake at Skopje smashes through our complacency that we realise with a start that here is a force, terrible in its might, that twentieth century man is as powerless to control as any painted savage.

Apart from the feelings of horror, grief and the real human desire to render succour and comfort, which people share irrespective of their political ideas, we Socialists have some comments to make on the social aspect of natural disaster that most others do not make.

After the giant earthquake at Tokio in 1923, it was often asserted by those who had knowledge and interest in the then new steel or concrete buildings that serious earthquakes would not cause such devastation if rebuilding followed the new methods. Such an idea, vague and stemming from many sources, became as

usual partially accepted on its face value by most people. Agadir and Skopje have shown that the brand new buildings collapsed like cards and had no more resilience than the old bricks and mortar.

Capitalist society has produced buildings that can take a heavy pounding from the machines of war. Our rulers even have hide-holes against the Big Bombs (for themselves, naturally) so the possibility of designing structures that can give greater safety for human life in the earthquake zones is possibly not so far-fetched. Earthquakes are spasmodic and can occur over a large area of the globe. The cost of repairing and rebuilding devastated cities, especially when the expense is spread over a wide field, is obviously cheaper than reconstructing thousands of towns in a new and revolutionary way. Capitalism as usual therefore takes a chance, with human life taking second place to the need to balance the books.

Powerful states can shoot men into space because such action is tied up with war preparation and the need to protect

or grab property. The cost of the space race is crippling even to healthy states, but it continues unabated. Do we ever hear of any research being encouraged or even carried out on methods that will enable men to plot the location and build-up of earthquakes in the earth's crust? Capitalism scares the pants off us with its "four minutes" H-Bomb warning. How about a four-minute warning to help thousands escape from death and injury in an earthquake?

Yet another point has confronted us over this event. A well known radio and television commentator launched an appeal for funds in order to send prefabricated homes to Skopje. He stated that we have the men to make the units, planes to carry them to their destination, but we must have money to set the operation in motion. No money, no homes, however great the need or the desire to help!

Even in so great a need private property must not run at a loss!

JACK LAW.

YUGOSLAVIA TODAY

“Socialist Federal Republic”

IN APRIL this year Yugoslavia declared itself a “Socialist Federal Republic” under a new constitution. The constitution proclaimed the “abolition of wage-labour relations” and declared that the economic system was “based on relations between people acting as free and equal producers and creators, whose work serves exclusively to satisfy their personal and common needs.” The constitution contains the usual Stalinist distortions of Marxism, namely, the allegedly Socialist slogan “from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work” as the principle of distribution, the false division between Socialism and Communism, the continued existence of buying and selling under “Socialism” and finally, the League of Communists, the name of the Yugoslav Communist Party since 1957, as the “prime mover” in the construction of Socialism. Marxists, however, do not judge a country by its formal constitution. On the contrary they examine the actual social relations obtaining in that country. Such an examination of Yugoslav society exposes the hollowness of its Socialist pretensions and reveals that capitalism continues to flourish there.

Yugoslavia is a totalitarian state. Most of the people are in the mass organisations typical of such states—in Yugoslavia the Socialist Alliance and the People's Youth. Marshal Tito appears as a very important person. Youth brigades sing songs to *Tito i Partija* and his picture adorns the wall of every shop and public place. Still it would be going too far to label him as a personal dictator. Power in Yugoslavia is in the hands of a small clique (which performs the functions of a capitalist class) of which Tito is just one member.

Nor would it be fair to say that there is widespread opposition to the regime. Certainly in peasant areas people can be found who are against the government. This is hardly surprising since the expressed intention of the government is to modernise the country and to sweep aside out-dated institutions and ideas.

Yugoslavia is a popular dictatorship, that is, a dictatorship enjoying the support of most of the people. In recent years, however, the Yugoslav rulers have learned the lesson which the ruling classes of the developed countries learned long ago: that in order to run the State efficiently so that exploitation can continue in peace the procedure of government must be such that the opinions of the people can be heard and taken into account. Accordingly we find talk about developing “Socialist democracy” and “social self-management.” This is not all talk. People really are being allowed to take part in the running of the administration. But there's nothing Socialist about it. Yugoslavia's “Socialist” democracy is something less than the non-party local government which exists in the less industrialised parts of this country. Circumstances are compelling the Yugoslav rulers to democratise their government. But the emergence of the limited political democracy that prevails in the more developed countries of Europe is still a long way off.

What has happened in Yugoslavia is a world-wide phenomenon. Throughout the world totalitarian state capitalism is the form under which many of the backward areas are developing. This is because in these countries the native

bourgeoisie is so weak that the state has to take over their traditional role, which is the accumulation of capital. This type of state is in fact more capitalist than the capitalists themselves. Those in charge know where they wish to go and use the state machine consciously to destroy the old society and its ideas and to spread capitalist relations as rapidly as possible throughout the area under their control. Needless to say they do not put it in this way and so we have a varied collection of “Socialisms” throughout the world ranging from “royal” Socialism to allegedly Marxist Socialism. Yugoslavia is one of these countries.

Socialists have never denied the role which capitalism plays in economic development. We have always said that the role of capitalism is to develop the means of production to the point when Socialism and production for use become possible. On a world scale capitalism has long since done this; from this point of view it is now a reactionary social system standing in the way of social progress. Nevertheless, in backward countries it continues to play this role. It removes thousands from the limitations of rural life, educating them and preparing them for life in industrial society. All this must be accepted by Socialists. However, when we say that the spread of education and the elimination of regional differences have been made in Yugoslavia we do not attribute these to Socialism, but to Capitalism.

Yugoslavia is still largely an agricultural country as about 50 per cent. of the population work on the land. Capitalist development, however, continues to break up the old village economy. This is not without its problems. As capitalism develops, the young from the countryside move to the towns seeking jobs. But the jobs are not always there. Hence unemployment, which is currently a problem in Yugoslavia despite the fact that the new constitution guarantees “the right to work and the freedom to work.” In 1962 the unemployed numbered 236,000 (7 per cent.); others seek work in West Germany. (See Table.)

Yugoslavia has the same percentage of the population at work in agriculture as Russia, but in some ways is ahead, particularly in the development of the free market. Up till 1950 the Yugoslav economy was run on the same lines as is the Russian today. The state fixed the quantity and quality of the goods of each enterprise, who should supply the raw materials and at what prices, the prices of the products and their buyers, etc. This type of state capitalism is resorted to in times of extreme shortage or of national effort as for war or of rapid industrialisation. However, if too prolonged, it tends to become inefficient. This is being discovered in Russia today.

Yugoslavia began decentralisation in 1950. This took the form of developing a free market. Not completely free, but with the state only intervening to set general targets—the system which exists in some developed countries of West Europe in fact.

“Workers’ control” was introduced at the same time as the ending of the state-directed economy. Indeed, it was part of the same process. The importance of “workers’ control” in Yugoslavia lies not in its formal arrangements but in its

economic role. It was introduced as part of a plan to make Yugoslav capitalist industry more efficient. Its function was and still is to provide an incentive for workers to work harder. The workers’ councils play a similar role to co-partnership schemes in this and other countries. Many students of the Yugoslav system overlook this efficiency aspect and talk enthusiastically about economic democracy. This is a serious mistake as it misses the very reason why the workers’ councils were set up.

Capitalist industries if they are to survive must become more and more efficient. Time-work and equal wages do not provide a sufficient incentive to work hard. Hence piecework, profit-sharing, bonuses, co-partnership and various other incentive schemes. In Yugoslavia the equivalent is the rigid implementation of the principle of distribution according to work. This principle is adhered to strictly and any departure from it is condemned as “non-Socialist.” The workers’ councils have some say in deciding how the income of the enterprise in which they work should be distributed—but they must share it in accordance with the principle of distribution according to work done. The harder a worker works the more he gets. Herein lies the incentive. Tito has specifically said that this principle is the best way “of thwarting tendencies towards a levelling out of earnings, and other negative manifestations.” The plain fact of the matter is that equal wages would be bad for productivity.

Of course, the rulers deny that the workers’ councils are only a method of increasing productivity. They talk about “the liberation of human labour” and the like. All this is so much nonsense and it is surprising that many of those who are not taken in when supporters of co-partnership in this country refer to their plan as “a possible advance in civilisation” are deceived when the Yugoslav rulers do the same.

Under capitalism the workers must strive to obtain as high a standard of living as possible. The experience of the workers’ councils in Yugoslavia shows that these councils are no substitute for free trade unions. Certainly their formal constitution is unobjectionable. The workers in an enterprise elect a Council which is ultimately responsible for the general running of the enterprise. The Council in its turn elects a

Managing Board. The Director who is responsible for the day-to-day running of the enterprise is appointed by a joint commission of the Workers’ Council and the local administration concerned. In this light the workers’ councils must be seen as the counterparts of joint production councils and such other frauds in the West.

The working class in Yugoslavia has no free trade unions and the workers’ councils are no substitute. For should the workers decide to use the councils to increase their incomes without a corresponding increase in productivity the government trade unions step in denouncing, in the words of one of their leaders, the “small-owner mentality” and other “backward” influences which make the workers think of exerting “a stronger pressure on the increase of personal incomes.” The principle of no pay rise unless there is an increase in productivity, which our own rulers are trying to impose on us, is rigidly implemented in Yugoslavia.

In time the working class in Yugoslavia must come to realise its class position and will take steps to end it. Unfortunately this seems a long way off yet. What is important at the moment is that workers outside Yugoslavia should not be deceived by its Socialist pretensions. Yugoslavia is not a Socialist country. The working class there are still exploited for the purpose of capital accumulation. Those in charge of this accumulation are the ruling class. Let this be understood.

A. L. B.

HOW UNEMPLOYMENT HAS GROWN IN YUGOSLAVIA

Registered Unemployed

Year	Number	per cent.
1955	67,233	3.0
1956	99,338	4.4
1957	115,904	4.7
1958	132,004	5.0
1959	161,633	5.7
1960	159,230	5.2
1961	191,283	5.7
1962	236,406	7.0

POVERTY IN THE USA

From time to time the London *Times* draws attention to admissions of poverty in America. One such article from their correspondent in Washington appeared in the issue of April 19.

It starts off with the statement: “Every fifth American lives in poverty, and many more in deprivation, according to official statistics. Altogether 77 million are either poor or are denied an adequate standard of living.”

Criticising Professor Galbraith for his over optimistic assumptions about diminishing inequality, the *Times* article goes on:—

The starting point could well be the figures of the United States Bureau of Labour Statistics which draw the line between poverty and deprivation at \$4,000 a year (£1,428) for a family of four and \$2,000 (£714) for an individual living

alone. These figures do not necessarily mean cash income, but include the price of food grown by small farmers, and in 1960 nearly 10,500,000 families received less.

The line drawn between deprivation and a modest but adequate standard of living was drawn at a family income level of about \$6,000 a year (£2,142). Again according to the Labour Department, in 1960 an urban family of four required between \$5,036 and \$7,678 a year to live adequately. More than two-fifths of the population do not earn \$6,000 a year.

The areas of poverty and deprivation are easily defined. Studies of the Conference of Economic Progress showed that 37.2 per cent. lived in the south; 18.3 were unemployed; 16.2 per cent. were elderly; 16.2 per cent. were non-white; and 12.1 per cent. lived on farms.

Circumstances have changed little since 1959 when two-thirds of all farm workers

earned less than \$1,000 (£357) and some migratory workers earned less than \$500. Nearly 80 per cent. of all non-white families lived in poverty or deprivation, and about 32 per cent. earned less than \$2,000. Retired couples received social security pensions of \$1,500 a year but many poor people do not contribute to the scheme.

Among other interesting details it is stated that in the years since 1929 inequality of income has in one respect increased: “If the poor did not become poorer the rich became richer.”

It is hardly necessary to remind readers that Socialists do not think that poverty is a peculiarity of any one part of the world. All countries are good to live in for the rich and all countries have the poor for the rich to shed tears over.

H.

CAN IT WORK?

Behind the Test Ban Treaty

ONE SWALLOW, said Lord Home, does not make a summer, but without any swallows there will be no summer (or words to that effect). He was talking, of course, about the Test Ban Treaty which was signed last month amid so much flourish and back-slapping in Moscow.

Lord Home was not the only statesman to offer a somewhat muted welcome for the Treaty. On the other side, there were plenty of commentators to assure us that this was something to sing about, and that the agreement was a step towards a better, safer, more peaceful world.

Now we have heard this song before and we have come to accept it for what it is worth. So it is fair to ask one or two questions about this latest venture into the field of agreements which are supposed to be going to make the world a fit place for humans to live in.

The first thing about the Treaty to give us a qualm is the suspicious ease with which it was discussed and signed. Talks on banning bomb tests have been going on for years, each one getting bogged down in apparently futile arguments over the details of administering a ban. Only a simple soul, of course, could have believed that these were genuine difficulties. The reason for the succession of breakdowns was that the talks were not serious. No nuclear power has ever really intended to give up the right to test its weapons.

Then suddenly, in contrast to the years of shilly-shallying, the new talks opened and the diplomats went willingly to Moscow (no bargaining, for a change, over where the talks were to be held) all in the assumption that this time they would bring it off. And they did. The experts at dipping their pens in the ink without signing, as Moscow radio called them, all at once made their marks on the paper and the deed was done.

Why the sudden change of heart?

We can gorge ourselves on any amount of speculation. A popular theory was that the great powers gave themselves an awful fright over Cuba and that, stricken by a ruinous vision of the consequences of what might have been last October, they will now go to any lengths rather than to the brink again. This theory fits in with the widespread conception of international politicians as men who can apply everyday, humane standards of judgment to their work.

But the obvious question here is, why did they not apply these standards *before* Cuba? That affair was, after all, something of a calculated gamble by the Soviet Union. Is it possible that last year's belligerent Mr. Khrushchev, the man who only a few months ago secreted nuclear rockets onto the United States' doorstep, can change into this year's paragon of peace and virtue? This is the sort of unanswerable question which the theory about the influence of peaceful or bellicose leaders has to satisfy.

Another explanation for the Treaty was that the nuclear powers are finding the cost of their weapons too high and now think it sensible to call a halt. There is some evidence to support this point of view. Hydrogen bombs are expensive and so is the associated hardware—the rockets and the guiding systems and the race for space—which is so essential a part of them. Probably even more expensive—and this is something which the last series of big American and Russian tests may

have uncovered—is the chain of anti-missile defences which must be almost the next step in the nuclear arms race.

Perhaps, then, the nuclear powers need a breathing space to sort out the delivery problems, so that they can develop a production method for missiles as smooth and as cheap as that for conventional bombers. The big fault with this argument is that it ignores the fact that, if the interests of a capitalist power demand it, that power will produce its weapons regardless of the cost. In the last war, this country was spending £14 million each day on the war effort. For a long time the British capitalist class have had their doubts about the economy of keeping up their own nuclear weaponry. Yet they have kept it up. Armaments do not provide the best ground for a logical, orderly assessment of priorities.

And when we have considered all these arguments—and perhaps given them their due—we are still left with our original question.

Why the sudden change of heart?

One of the most striking—and potentially the most frightening—aspects of the Treaty is that it divides the world into those countries which have the Bomb and those which, with the exception of France, have not got it. (There will now probably be pressure upon de Gaulle—perhaps an American promise of nuclear know-how—to get him into the new alliance.)

What is more, the nuclear powers are now sworn to try to prevent the spread of the weapons; in other words, to maintain their own supremacy. This is what de Gaulle meant when he referred to the "... terrible threat which the nuclear armaments of the two rivals hold over the world and, above all, over the peoples that have not got them." And it is what the chairman of the China Peace Committee meant when he promised a Chinese nuclear bomb in these words:

It will not be long now before the attempt to control the destiny of peoples made by a small number of countries with their monopoly of nuclear weapons will be thwarted.

It is when we consider that the breach between Moscow and Peking, which has been opening up for the past few years, has now burst wide open that the Test Ban Treaty takes on what could be its true significance. The breakdown of the recent talks between the Russian and the Chinese leaders could indicate that recent Russian policy towards China is openly a failure and that henceforth the clashing economic and strategic interests of these two countries can no longer be papered over by a mutual hostility towards the USA. This in turn would mean that the Russian government will be as anxious as any other to stop the Chinese having the Bomb—or that, if they have got it, to deter them from flaunting it by a massive display of nuclear counter-strength.

If this is so, we may be sure that the effect of the Treaty will be to make the nuclear have-nots intensify their efforts to get the Bomb. From this it may follow that the nuclear haves will try to do a deal, as we have seen they may try with France, to restrict or to control the spread of nuclear knowledge. Or, perhaps, on this issue, they will find themselves fighting a war.

Are we, then, witnessing a new alignment in the disputes and the opposing forces of world capitalism? Do we stand now at the threshold of another great division? Said *The Economist* on August 3rd:

Moscow's split with Peking... may perhaps stand out bold and clear as an event that forced us to... think up a fresh set of rules of action to face a new outlook in world politics.

Which would be nothing new. It is the basic nature of capitalism which causes modern war and so gives rise to the weapons with which wars are fought. This same basic nature throws up a mass of complex interests and counter interests which at one time coincide and at another clash. Capitalism's allies are never, can never, be permanent. Its treaties and agreements can never be worth more than the paper they are written on.

The Moscow agreement is not excluded from this. It has the customary gaping loophole through which, on a plea of "national interests," any of its signatories can forget that they ever signed it. It excludes the currently awkward powers—China and France—and this is no coincidence because the present interests of these countries put them outside the Treaty. No pact, after all, has ever been able to get over the conflicting interests of capitalism's disputing nations.

None of this, as we might have guessed, prevented the politicians from taking credit for the Treaty. With the ink on the signatures hardly dry, they were anxiously identifying themselves with the Test Ban and pointing out what clever, humane men they are to stop doing something which, by any humane reasoning, they should never have started. They

told us how good it is for us, now that the tests have stopped. When Lord Home could take time off from musing on the swallows he said:

Don't let us run away with the idea that this test ban, if it is signed by the United States, Russia, and ourselves, is of no value. It stops fall-out, which greatly concerns the medical profession and every parent in every western country.

We may be sure that Lord Home has not forgotten that he is a member of a government which, as long as they wanted to test their bomb, blandly assured us that the danger from fall-out was negligible. A government which told us that the best medical brains were on their side in this matter and that only a morbid, hypochondriacal parent would worry about fall-out. Do the facts change, now that a treaty has been signed? Is Strontium-90 dangerous, after all? Did all those children really die of leukaemia?

The cynicism of capitalism is one of its worst features. Yet cynicism is the quality—if that is the right word—which the politicians and the diplomats must develop if they are to run the system. They must all learn to sign on the dotted line with their tongues in their cheeks and a ready smile for the cameramen. And how much, do you think, does that make their signature worth?

And will the Test Ban Treaty, do you think, really work?

The fact is that it is very much on the cards that the nuclear powers will one day start their tests again. And if the Moscow Treaty does go into the waste paper basket it will find itself nestling alongside any number of equally ballyhooed predecessors.

IVAN.

Companion Parties

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

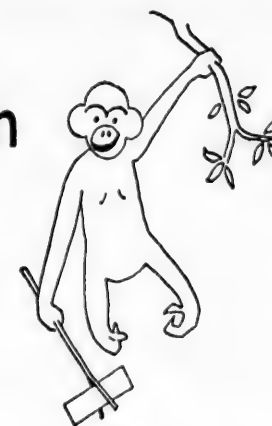
SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Petone.
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

31 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

Branch News



In London, for the first time in the Party's history, a Rally is being arranged in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, 15th September at 3.30 pm. Permission from the authorities has been granted and therefore all that remains to ensure success is the greatest support from every comrade who can possibly get to the Square on that day. The Propaganda Committee is holding a meeting of Committees and Branch Organisers and special arrangements for literature sales are being made. This occasion can be made

really worthwhile, and one hundred per cent support from every member will help it to be so.

The **Delegate Meeting** is being held at Head Office on Saturday afternoon and all day Sunday, October 5th and 6th—a weekend to note in diaries. Paddington Branch have booked **Hampstead Town Hall** for a propaganda meeting on October 21st. Full details in the October STANDARD.

Our comrade Joe McGuinness is working hard for Socialism whilst at the same time working for his living. He is hoping to start a group in East Essex. Details under **Groups** on page 134.

West London Branch (ex-Ealing) have settled down well in their new meeting place and are looking forward to a very busy winter season of lectures, discussions, and film shows. We hope to publish details of the first meetings in next month's STANDARD.

Glasgow Branch are enjoying their most successful outdoor season for many years.

[continued bottom next page]

Man's degradation

"Degradation! What degradation?"

The neatly-dressed, grey-haired woman at the edge of the lunch-time crowd at Tower Hill had seemed genuinely surprised at the use of such a word by our speaker to describe her condition and that of the other office workers listening to him. Engrossed in his topic, he had not heard her interjection; she had not pressed her point; and so it had been lost.

The scene came back to my mind some weeks later, when I found myself with time to kill in a suburb of Nottingham. I had called in the morning at the house of a comrade—only to find that he was out. As it was a lengthy bus-ride back to the centre of the city and I had no other commitments, I had decided to await his return. The local branch of the Public Library was in a pleasant, spacious building, furnished with some imagination, and it was well stocked. An hour or two passed in browsing.

I had already had a cup of coffee and a sandwich at the only cafe in the district, and did not in any case feel like a hot meal on this warm summer day. I decided to buy some fruit and sit outside somewhere in the sunshine to eat it. I was soon looking for a small park or road side seat with perhaps a patch of grass around it. Half an hour later I was still looking, having walked up and down almost every street I could see.

I began to realise that I had been brought face to face with a fact which the everyday familiarity of the suburban scene normally causes one to overlook: that with rare exceptions, suburbs have nowhere for the passing stranger to sit. They have parks, commons, recreation grounds, yes—but these are usually some distance from the centre of the district, and are provided for specifically recreational purposes. The neighbourhood as such makes no provision for the stranger.

BRANCH NEWS continued from previous page

They are holding four meetings a week in Glasgow and two in Edinburgh. A feature of this summer's outdoor activity has been the success of the Sunday afternoon meetings at the new stance at Kent Street. This stance is in the middle of Glasgow's Sunday Market Place—the Barrowlands. The audience is usually between 100 and 200 and literature sales have been especially encouraging. The branch are also preparing for the forthcoming General Election in the Woodside Constituency and preparing a series of posters dealing with various

If he is lucky he may find a Public Library in which to pass his time; otherwise he must pay for the space he occupies, by buying something to eat or drink.

That this is a fact I was able to confirm several times over in other parts of the country; and anyone can see it in most of the suburbs he knows. But it is more than a curious fact; and it is certainly no coincidence. We have all around us, the first kind of human community in history which makes no collective provision for the traveller. The village has its green, with a seat or two; the most primitive and the most transient of past human settlements considered it a general duty to greet a stranger (unless he were believed to be hostile) and offer him hospitality. How it is that this small but age-old community function has been able to disappear almost unnoticed from the typical dwelling-area of the affluent society?

The answer can only be that these areas are not communities at all, in any but a shadowy and nominal sense. The local-authority housing estate or the collection of private "desirable residences" is not built for human beings to live together in; it is an aggregation of living-boxes for the purveyors of labour-power—places to and from which they can be shuttled before or after making their energies available to the owners of capital.

So conditioned are workers to capitalism that they have come to accept this state of affairs as normal and natural, and can usually think of improvement in their mode of living only in terms of getting a bigger box with a bigger bit of land around it. The house-builders, concerned only with the profit to be obtained from their operations, find this all to their advantage: far more money is to be made from putting up mazes of indis-

aspects of the Party's case to be displayed in Woodside prior to the election.

The event which has engendered the most enthusiasm from Glasgow members, however, is the recent acquisition of rented premises in Berkeley Street. This was made possible by the donation of £50 from a Canadian comrade who recently visited Glasgow. The premises are a three apartment basement flat which the Glasgow comrades are transforming from a slum into very attractive headquarters for Socialist activity. The Monday evening branch

linguishable dwelling-units for the Council, or from selling the featureless semi-detached to the socially isolated white-collar worker, than could possibly accrue from creating a well-planned community with adequate amenities. The social expense, in loneliness, neurosis and the sense of leading a meaningless, frustrating existence, does not hit the builder's pocket or affect the Councillor's political security.

The woman in the Tower Hill crowd probably lived in just such an area; yet she did not see that it involved her in a degradation of human existence. It is just possible that she had an enjoyable, useful, meaningful job; but if she did she was fortunate. The degradation of having to devote our talents and our powers of concentration to boring or ultimately futile activities was presumably no more to her than the inevitable daily round of everyone's life.

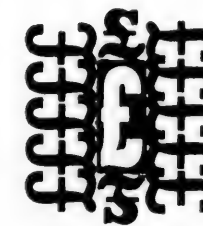
This is, perhaps, the ultimate degradation itself of the working class; that they are induced to believe that the kinds of lives they lead, the houses they live in, the clothes they wear, the work they do and the way they travel to and from it, represent the best that any reasonable person could hope for. Yet it is at best a pitiful, and at worst an insulting, mockery of the potential of human nature and wealth and society, this life that we are condemned to live; we could sweep it all away if only we could see that it has ceased to be in any sense necessary.

So I mused, trudging up and down the streets with my bag of apples and oranges. Eventually I did find somewhere I could sit and eat them—on a stone in a graveyard. The moral was all too plain: only the dead occupy space they don't pay for. Only for them is there no degradation.

P. R. COLLINS.

meetings are now held in the new branch rooms and education classes are due to start there at the beginning of October. It is also hoped to run a weekly discussion group very shortly. It is felt in Glasgow that branch rooms are essential for organisational and propaganda work and their lack until recently has held back our drive for better propagation of the Party's case. News of Glasgow branch activity in regard to indoor meetings, classes, etc., will appear in next month's STANDARD.

P.H.



The end of the publican

Reference was made in these columns recently to the concentration of the brewing industry in a smaller number of large firms. According to the *Evening Standard* (6/8/63) the process is continuing and taking new forms. One of these is that as the big firms find they can make more profit by having the public-houses run by their own paid managers, they are more and more getting rid of the houses run by tenants, as leases fall in. Some experts are forecasting a big fall in the number of publicans who run their own business, and those who remain are finding their freedom of action more restricted. Having been tied in respect of the brands of beer they could sell, they are now finding themselves limited in their choice of wines and spirits, and even cigarettes and mineral waters. The *Evening Standard* City Editor thinks that the big brewers, who launched their own brand of gin in opposition to the existing brands, will follow this up by producing their own brand of whisky.

He thinks the disappearance of the "free" publican a matter for regret and a positive danger, but does not explain how the all-round powerful drive concentration in industry and trade is to be halted. Governments may promise to turn back the clock by legislation, but capitalism has a habit of largely ignoring it. It was not only the Conservatives who said they were opposed to any form of monopoly, but there was a time when the Labour Party, too, wanted a large number of small capitalists in preference to a small number of large ones.

In any event it seems that the British worker to whom the Conservatives promised "full personal freedom and power of initiative" isn't going to be allowed to exercise it in his choice of pubs, beers, whisky, etc., quite apart from the limiting factor of his ability to pay.

Down with money

As a small by-product of the £2½ million train robbery the *Daily Mail* in its issue of August 10 had a full-length leader with the caption "Down with Money." How bold and refreshing? Nothing of the kind: just the usual inanities of the newspaper editorial mind. The theme was that the robbers of the mail

train would find it very exhausting trying to spend so much money and would soon discover that "money is a nuisance and a bother." So why not abolish it altogether?

After that daring promise of an idea came the flat triviality of the actual scheme: "Why do we not become a credit card nation, and free everyone from the necessity of carrying bulky pockets full of paper?"

This, according to the leader writer, would save us all a lot of trouble. No money changing hands and being transported about or locked up in safes. Just Bank of England Computors giving everyone a statement each week of what they had spent and what they had left. All accounts would be settled by cheque. The writer conceded that we might still need a few metal discs for slot machines. "But for the rest let us just sign our names and give our numbers for everything from bus tickets to bingo games."

We may pause for a moment to contemplate the spectacle of millions of busy shoppers, and travellers signing their names and giving their numbers at shop counters, in buses, ticket offices, etc., and may well wonder whether they would consider it any less tedious than handing out notes and coin.

But there is a catch that the writer overlooked. His brain child all began with the £2½ million train haul and he closed on the note that "there would never again be another train robbery." But if he thinks that as credit cards come in the opportunity for theft goes out he has overlooked not only the possibility of signing someone else's name and number but also of stealing or forging credit cards.

But let us invite the writer in the *Mail* to give his mind to a really bold and constructive idea. Let him ask himself why bullion, coins, notes, cheques and credit cards are in use at all; whose interest they serve; and whether they are really necessary?

The theoretical justification for the continuance of a monetary system is that it enables those who lawfully possess goods to sell them, and use the money to buy whatever they choose, when and where they choose. Seemingly a very admirable and convenient arrangement (even if it does get upset much and often by robberies). But it serves to mask the realities of production and distribution

which from the point of view of the majority of the population are far from admirable. How do the lawful possessors of the products of the factories, workshops, farms, and so on, come to be in that position? Because they have laboured to produce what they own and sell? Not at all. Just the opposite in fact. The one undeniable feature of the world we live in is that wage and salary earners who are employed to produce the goods are never the owners of them after production. The owners and the non-producers, simply by virtue of the fact that they are already the owners of the factories, either directly or as shareholders.

So the money arrangements are merely the cover for the legalised exploitation of the mass of the population, serving primarily the interests of the owning class.

Of course, it needs boldness of thought to consider the fruitful possibility of all the people of the world simply producing what all need, and distributing it directly, without any monetary arrangements (and newspaper leader writers are notoriously timid, and fearful of thought) but having made a small start could not the leader writer of the *Mail* be induced persevere?

Wage restraint

Mr. Harold Wilson has shown candour in saying again, as he has said before, that any future Labour Government will count on the trade unions accepting wage restraint as part of a policy of restraint of profits, rents, etc. Amid some mild expressions of approval or disapproval, Mr. Hill, general secretary of the Boilermakers Society, got into the headlines by declaring his emphatic opposition to any form of wage restraint. So the battle commences: Hill versus Wilson. And how will the issue be settled? Shall we end with wage restraint or without wage restraint? The answer is that, so long as we have wages, the efforts by workers to push them up and by employers (backed by governments) to push them down will continue: nothing will be settled.

The trouble is that those who argue for and those who argue against wage restraint are not really arguing about whether it should exist or not, but only whether its existence should be admitted in words.

Take Mr. Hill, for example. If, correctly reported, he does not want any form of wage restraint and presumably thinks that if a declaration of "no restraint" is made, the situation will be different. But, of course, it will be altered hardly at all. For years, indeed for generations, and long before a Labour Government invented the term "wage restraint" to describe its policy, there have been workers and trade unions which have demanded higher wages, and fought bitterly by strikes to get them: and have never got the wages they demanded and thought they ought to have. They have not been restrained by the words "wage restraint," but by the resistance of the employers and the power of the government—in the last resort, military power.

What has Mr. Hill to say about his own Union. He has never accepted wage restraint, but he has repeatedly had to accept the fact that his Union members could not get the wages they were asking for. What has Mr. Hill done about it? He has done what he could, but that did not include getting rid of the fact of wage restraint.

As remarked earlier, this is bound to last as long as the wages system lasts, and most people, including apparently Mr. Hill, unfortunately will not get round to recognising that the wages system could and should be got rid of along with the rest of capitalism.

The role of gold

In an address to the Transvaal and Orange Free State Chamber of Mines in Johannesburg recently, the President, Mr. P. H. Anderson, reviewed the prospects of gold mining in South Africa. He stated that in the last 15 years output has more than doubled. It reached a record of 25 million ounces in 1962, and the first five months of 1963 showed a further 10 per cent. increase, but with the exhaustion of mines and in spite of the development of new areas it may now have reached its peak. Employment in the mines has begun to fall from the 1961 peak of 40,000 Europeans and 400,000 Bantu.

The working profit from the gold mines in 1962 was £123 million with a further £21 million from uranium, and dividends of £55 million.

One of the factors stimulating gold production and profits was the devaluation of the pound sterling in 1949, and the South African gold interests have for years kept up incessant propaganda for a general devaluation of world currencies, including, above all, the American dollar. In spite of repeated assurances by the American government that they have no intention of doing this, Mr. Anderson states that a number of South African mines are continuing in operation, though making losses, in the hope that devaluation will sooner or later come to their aid.

As is the way with all vested interests looking for means to increase their own profits, the South African gold interests, backed by a number of economists, argue that it is in the interest of world trade in general, and in particular that it would help the "West" against "Communism," meaning by the latter the Russian government.

One of the counter arguments from the United States has always been that revaluing the dollar from its present rate of 35 dollars to an ounce of gold to some higher figure (50 dollars is often mentioned in the propaganda) would help the Russian Government since Russian gold stocks would automatically be worth more dollars in the world market.

It has often been claimed that Russian gold production is only second to that of South Africa and rising rapidly (a figure of over 17 million ounces was claimed in 1958). But some of the gold experts outside Russia have been sceptical about Russian output and the size of its gold reserves.

"Lombard" in the *Financial Times* has recently mentioned various estimates of Russian output, but dismisses them all as no more than "intelligent guesswork." But, he claims, if total output and stocks of gold in Russia are not known, what is known is that since the early nineteen fifties Russian gold has been coming into the world market at the rate of something under 7 million ounces a year.

His conclusion is that this figure probably represents something approaching total output and that the supposed enormous gold reserves of the Russian government are mythical—unless the Russian government, like the South Africans, is also waiting for the day when the American government devalues the dollar in terms of gold.

For Socialists it has its own lessons. In spite of the nonsensical forecasts of some alleged experts that the devaluation of the Pound in 1932 would be the end of gold, it still plays its old role in capitalist international transactions, just as much for capitalist Russia as for the rest of the capitalist world.

H.

Meetings

TRAFALGAR SQUARE RALLY

Sunday 15th September, 3.30 pm

DEMONSTRATION FOR SOCIALISM

HAMPSTEAD PUBLIC MEETING

Monday 21st October, 8 pm

HAMPSTEAD TOWN HALL

Haverstock Hill, NW3

DELEGATE MEETING

Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

Saturday October 5th, 2-6 pm

Sunday October 6th, 11 am—6 pm

BROMLEY

Lecture Room, Bromley Public Library, High Street

Friday 27th September, 7.45 pm

TORY GOVERNMENT SINCE 1951

LEWISHAM

Co-operative Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6

Mondays, 8 pm

October 7th

INTRODUCING THE SPGB

October 14th

FAILURE OF LABOURISM

October 21st

TORY GOVERNMENT

October 28th

LIBERAL IMAGE

WEMBLEY

Barham Old Court, Barham Park Harrow Road, Wembley

Mondays, 8 pm

September 2nd

DELINQUENCY

September 16th

Title to be announced

September 30th

ANY QUESTIONS

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays:

Hyde Park, 3.30 and 6.30 pm

Beresford Square, Woolwich, 8 pm

East Street, Walworth

September 1st (1 pm)

" 8th (noon)

" 15th (11 am)

" 22nd (noon)

" 29th (11 am)

Mondays: Lincoln's Inn Fields 1-2 pm

Wednesdays: Outside Charing Cross Underground Station, Villiers Street, 7.30 p.m.

Thursdays:

Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm

Earls Court, 8 pm

Hyde Park, 8 pm

Fridays: Earls Court, 8 pm

Saturdays: Hyde Park, 7.30 pm

Homes for wage slaves



WORKING CLASS housing is a sore that has festered on the body of capitalism right from the beginning. Workers all over the world live in squalid and inferior conditions.

Following the lines of class division, every city and town has its contrasts. Spacious, comfortable houses for those who can afford them, and cramped and shoddy ones for those who cannot. Let's take one example to show the poverty and insecurity that lies behind the so-called housing problem. When the L.C.C. announced recently that the sum of £3 million had been set aside for loans of up to £5,000 with no deposits, they were swamped with thousands of enquiries. This paltry sum might house something like a thousand working class families. On the other hand, one building, the new Hilton Hotel, cost £8 million; there were no workers enquiring for rooms at up to £40 per day.

While massive blocks of office buildings are appearing everywhere, people walk the streets of London looking for shelter or join those staying in rest centres. Such is the order of priorities under capitalism.

Labour, Liberal and Conservative governments in succession have promised to deal with the problem, but have left it much the same as when they first took office. Workers have been fed on such promises as "homes for heroes," only to find they need to be heroes to live in some of the homes. Because of the low standards of working class dwellings, made necessary by the need to keep them within rents workers can afford, their new homes soon begin to look drab and to blend with the old eyesores around them. The best that capitalism's parties can do is to try to outbid one another in promising to build more cheap and nasty dwellings for workers. But, even then, the rate at which old property deteriorates and needs to be pulled down, is higher than the rate of building.

When the Tories came back in 1951, there was a lot of talk about a "property owning democracy," but housing, like the rest of wealth under capitalism, is produced for profit. Six years of Labour Government and nearly 30 years of Labour control on the L.C.C., have done nothing to solve the problem. In 1934, the housing problem and slum clearing was the major issue at County Hall. It still is today; as in all other fields, the reformists are ignorant of the true nature of the forces against which they pit their puny efforts. How many more years of capitalism run by the Labour Party must we endure before workers realise that reformism has no answer?

In an article in the old *Sunday Pictorial* last October there was a lot of factual information about the squalor and decay that millions of workers live in. We were told of a family of four living in an old car parked in a London street. We were given the contrast of London's most luxurious penthouse at a rent of £12,500 a year, and of places in Earls Court for £9,500. There are plenty of flats at £60 a week, but few at 60s. The article goes on to enlighten us with the fact that in Manchester there are 68,000 slums and 13,677 people on the waiting list. In Leeds, where the Housing Minister is an

M.P., there are 11,000 slums and 18,071 on the waiting list, while in Glasgow a thousand homes are closed each year by the city medical officer; 600 more are so rotten, they fall down unaided. There are 77,000 people on the Glasgow waiting list. This sort of article is fairly common in newspapers, but the press is just as helpless as the politicians when it comes to effective answers. This is what Mr. Michael Stewart, a Labour Party housing spokesman, wants, "Restore rent control; keep a check, or if necessary ban, new office building, and build more homes for rent—at least 300,000 a year." Rent control did nothing to alleviate the present slum conditions and acted as a weight to keep wages down. Surely the Labour Party knows that office building is more profitable than building homes for workers who can only afford low rents. The *Sunday Pictorial* should know all about the benefits of new office buildings, the newspaper is printed in one of them. As for 300,000 houses a year, this is the exact figure the Tories promised in 1951. To carry on building places cheaply for workers only perpetuates the problem.

The housing problem is merely one symptom of a sickness that runs right through capitalism, the sickness of riches and poverty. None of the politicians who come vote-catching to the workers ever promise to build them mansions with expensive chandeliers and swimming pools. The life of yachts and sun-following is deemed to be unfit for the class that produces it all. When we are told that 15 million people have no baths in their homes, swimming pools sound as though they belong to another world and in a way they do—the world of the capitalist.

When wars come along and workers are invited to fight for "their" country, they would do well to look at some of the places they live in and ask themselves what country they own. The Church of England, which always blesses workers in uniform, is one of Britain's biggest landowners and has £69,000,000 invested in property, not to mention £132,000,000 in stocks and shares.

What can be said for a social system that cannot even provide adequate shelter for the overwhelming majority of its citizens? While capitalism remains, the squalor that it breeds will be with us. Frederick Engels nearly a hundred years ago pointed out that all oppressed classes in history have been poorly housed and that the solution is to abolish the present form of society.

Socialism will lay the foundation for the final removal of the housing problem. Although there will be an ugly aftermath left over from capitalism, when the means of production are held in common and the madness of profit-motivation swept away, we can then set about the task of gearing production to human needs, which means housing of the finest possible standard will be produced, in abundance, to be freely used and enjoyed.

H. B.

PARLIAMENTARY FUND We intend to contest three constituencies at the next General Election. Our coffers are low, time is short. Send your donation now to SPGB Parliamentary Fund, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

The crusade for gold

The Conquest of New Spain. Bernal Diaz. Translated by J. M. Cohen. Penguin Books, 6s.

Chronicles of the Crusades. Villehardouin and Joinville. Translated by M. R. B. Shaw. Penguin Books, 5s.

Many books have been written about Hernando Cortes and the conquest of Mexico. Many more still have been written about the Crusades. But very few books on either event came from those who were there at the time, and even of these only a handful have survived.

Penguin Books have recently had the happy idea of publishing translations of three of these personal histories. In the first, *The Conquest of New Spain*, Bernal Diaz, a humble soldier in the Cortes expedition, gives his account of how several hundred Spanish adventurers with a few dozen horses invaded the powerful Aztec

empire, overthrew its ruler Montezuma, and conquered his capital of Mexico. The second book, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, combines two stories: of the Fourth Crusade seen through the eyes of a French feudal lord, Villehardouin, and of the Seventh by a later compatriot Joinville.

Roughly three hundred years separate these two periods, three hundred years which saw the final crumbling of feudalism before the forces of expansion in which the discovery of the New World played such an overwhelming part. The books reflect the deep gulf between the two societies, but even more interesting and striking is the way they reveal the factor common to both of them—the drive of economic interest.

All three histories purport to be written by religious men. Both the chronicles of the Crusades tell us frequently of their Christian mission, of their joy

at the "taking of the Cross" against the Saracen and the infidel. And throughout his story Diaz tells us again and again of the way he and his companions shattered the Mexicans' "heathen idols" and of how they tried to get them to see the "true faith." All their disasters (and they were many) were sent by God to punish them for their misdeeds, and their escapes and triumphs were due solely to his intervention.

But through all three stories comes the asides, the complaints, the intrigues, the reproaches, the admissions, that make it clear that whatever the ostensible reason for their campaigns, the real motive was wealth, land, booty, and loot.

Gold is the word that weaves its way into every thread of Diaz's story. Gold was what he and his companions were after, the fabulous mines in the west which would make them rich beyond the dreams of avarice. Every settlement

through which they passed on their long road to Mexico was assessed in terms of the gold it possessed; every present given by Montezuma in an effort to buy them off was meticulously valued in pesos. Gold was the prize for which they went through innumerable and fantastic hardships and for which so many of them died—to have their hearts torn from their still living bodies and their limbs thrown to their opponents to feast upon. And, supreme irony of all, and as so often happens, it was the leaders and rulers who got most of the spoil and Diaz and his fellows nothing.

Our two Crusaders tell the same story. It was the Venetian merchants who supplied the ships and provisions for the Fourth Crusade—at a good price, plus one-half "of everything we win." And whatever may have been the depth of religious conviction of the two authors, it is certain that most of their companions embarked on their adventure for the booty to be won and the lands to be conquered. The Fourth Crusade, in fact, never got further than Constantinople and ended in a bloody struggle between the French and Germans against the

Greeks who were, incidentally, also Christians and whose lands had been seized by the Crusaders. As for the Seventh Crusade, the feudal barons who left so eagerly in search of loot and land were soon tempted to leave their "saintly king Louis" in the lurch when they found the opposition keener than they had expected. Louis himself was captured and had to buy himself back to France at the cost of a heavy ransom. The whole campaign was in fact a fiasco, ruined by the greed of the big feudal lords and their primary concern for their own economic interests.

It should be remembered that the wealth to permit these feudal aristocrats to go out on their jaunts, either for religious or just for mercenary gain, was extracted from the vast inert, mass of Western European serfdom. Then, as now, a small minority of privileged lived on the backs of a majority who did all the useful work of society, pawns who were passed from one feudal lord to another as the tide of battle fluctuated between the various warring actions.

By Diaz's time this system had virtually broken up and a new one was

evolving. He was only one of many who thought to get rich quick by volunteering for expeditions to open up new lands. The old order was disappearing and the world becoming bigger, but much of it was illusion. Most of them died, or came back crippled or broken with disease. Their leaders, true, often shared the same hardships but did have somewhat of a better chance of looking back and considering them worthwhile. But the real winners, as always, were the big men behind the scenes who financed the expeditions—and, of course, the rulers of the time who couldn't lose anyway because they were automatically entitled to a fifth of everything that was going.

Courage, adventure, cruelty, and privation—these two books recount such things on a scale to make us marvel. But, underlying everything, they confirm once more that then, as now, history was shaped by economic interest. The holy cross might have stood out brightly on the banners, but it was the urge for gold, land, booty, and profit, that burned in the breasts of most of those who fell in behind.

S. H.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD,
September, 1913.

MICHAEL EVERS

Ealing Branch report with regret the death of Michael Evers, who died on July 25th, 1963, at the age of 38.

Comrade Evers joined the Party and Ealing Branch in 1951 and was for several years Branch Secretary. Members knew him as a most efficient comrade, always to be depended on to carry out any Party work requested of him by the Branch, be it his secretarial duties, canvassing or arranging and organizing meetings, film shows, etc.

Mick was determined and stubborn in whatever he did, in his football refereeing, his golfing, his enjoyment of branch social activities in which he wholeheartedly participated and the hard routine of Party work which is the essence of the Socialist movement.

Ealing members—and the writer, who knew him from the day he joined the Party—wish to record this last appreciation of Mick Evers' ready co-operation in every activity relating to the Branch and the Party and of all the work he contributed on their behalf.

E. W.

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Rally Hampstead Town Hall on Monday 21st October 8 pm

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VICE—1913 VERSION

In February of this year—within three months of the White Slave Bill being passed—Hull was excited about the arrest of "a leading citizen," named Edward Buckton Cargill. He was the Chairman of the Hull Steam Trawlers Owners Company, of the Humber Conservancy Board, was chosen by the shipowners of Hull as a representative of the fishing trade of the port, and was appointed by the Board of Trade on the North Sea Fisheries Committee, besides holding many other leading positions in the property owning world.

He was charged with offences against several girls under 16 years of age. He obtained the services of several noted K.C.s and other lawyers and detectives to help him, and they scoured the cities to try and get matter whereby the girls could be seen in the worst light—morally. Needless to state, the girls belonged to the working class.

When the judge ordered him nine months hard labour the poor dupes of Liberalism and Toryism thought it showed the sincerity and wisdom of our governors—But—wait and see!

He was sentenced at the end of February. At the beginning of May, or shortly after two months had elapsed, the Hull Press announced the

release of Cargill on the ground of indisposition. He was removed to his home, prison life not agreeing with this tender plant. And a member of the town council ventured the opinion that if he had been a poor man he would have been in prison yet.

They were going to deal with "the great traffickers in human beings." They were going to strike at "the international ring of procurers." Ah, yes! a story of going to do. When, owing to an oversight, no doubt, a sumptuous flat in Piccadilly was raided, the flat keeper, calling herself Queenie Gerald, was charged with procuring girls. In the course of the evidence at Marlboro' Street, however, it transpired that prominent men were associated with the business—and the usual thing took place.

The case came on at the sessions watered down to one of "exercising influence over the movements of prostitutes for the purpose of gain." At the police court she had pleaded *not guilty*, but now she answered: "Guilty!" the result being that no evidence was taken against her on the charges made, the jury were not sworn, all in spite of the fact that Mr. Travers Humphrey, the prosecuting counsel had at the Police Court

stated that (*vide* "Daily Telegraph," June 21st) "There were a large number of letters which made it quite clear that, apart from the prisoner's earnings herself, and apart from what she received from the girls, she was carrying on the trade of a procurer."

The public were excluded from the Court and the Press representatives were told they were only there as a privilege, and were to report no names and be careful not to let much leak out. They were ordered not to divulge the real name of Queenie Gerald—and all for what reason!

BECAUSE LEADING MEMBERS OF MODERN SOCIETY WERE PATRONS OF THIS PICCADILLY FLAT.

Conclusive evidence of procuring was given earlier at the Police Court proceedings, but that didn't stop the charge being dropped at the Quarter Sessions. One of the letters written to "a gentleman at the Ritz Hotel" ran as follows:

"Your friend wishing to meet a few society ladies, I can arrange for three on Sunday. They are the real thing and frightfully expensive. Will you ask the Prince what he is prepared to give."

FAIRY TALES

The high wage myth

FOR MANY years the Ministry of Labour has published figures showing the average earnings of industrial workers in a selection of industries. These have been supplemented recently by similar figures for salaried workers. The consequence is that we now have two images instead of one, the image of white collar workers' pay added to that of the manual workers.

It is not that the Ministry of Labour figures are wrong or misleading but only that, in course of transmission to the columns of the newspapers and the speeches of politicians, the careful definitions and explanations are forgotten.

The latest figure for the industrial workers shows that the average wage is over £16 a week. Its brother turns up in the *Daily Mail* on July 3rd like this: "£21: The average White Collar workers' pay."

The Industrial workers' £16 12s. 4d. is average earnings, including an average of over five hours overtime pay, plus all

extras for output bonuses, profit sharing, etc., and before any deductions have been made for income tax, National Insurance contributions, and the like.

The figure applies only to men of 21 and over (the average for women, youths and girls ranges from £8 3s. 8d. down to £5 4s. 6d.), and applies only to the manufacturing industries, which are relatively highly paid.

The inclusion of some non-manufacturing industries lowers the average by about 10s. a week, and although some other "high wage" as well as "low wage" industries are outside the figures it is well-nigh certain that the inclusion of shop assistants, catering workers, agricultural workers, etc., would bring it down much more. On this basis it could well be less than £14 for an average of 48 hours a week or more, and before deductions.

The same and some additional qualifications apply to the myth of the £21 a week "white collar worker." As

defined by the Ministry of Labour for its enquiry this group includes all administrative, technical and clerical staff "from managerial and administrative grades to junior clerks and typists" as well as technical and "professional" employees.

But as it happens the Ministry also publishes figures which exclude the more highly paid sections, the managers and administrators, and apply only to "clerical and analogous employees." The contrast is a striking one. We drop from the *Daily Mail's* £21 to a figure only two-thirds as large, actually £14 2s. 5d. a week for male workers and £10 14s. 11d. for women and girls: and like all the other figures these include overtime and other extras and are before deduction of tax and insurance contributions.

So much for the newspapers' fairy tales about wages.

H.

SUNDAY SEPTEMBER 15
3.30 pm

TRAFALGAR SQUARE

DEMONSTRATION
FOR SOCIALISM

Speakers

H. Baldwin

C. May

J. Millen

H. Young

L. Weidberg

Z. Zucconi

Official Journal
of the Socialist
Party of Great
Britain and the
World Socialist
Party of Ireland

OCTOBER 1963 6d.

Socialist Standard



THE TOR-IES DO NOT FEAR LABOUR WIN

Also in this number

SOCIALISM & THE KIBBUTZ

T.U.C AND WAGES

REPORT FROM SOUTH AFRICA

DEMONSTRATION IN WASHINGTON

TRAGEDY OF DRESDEN

page 151

No one with any knowledge of the present political situation thinks that a Labour Party victory at the next election would be followed by drastic social changes. If such a thing were possible it would mean that the differences were deep and vital, whereas the publicity men in both organisations have a hard time finding differences that look big enough to fight an election.

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1) That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2) That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3) That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4) That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5) That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6) That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7) That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8) The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

SPGB Branches

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY Thursdays 3rd and 17th, Oct. 7.30 pm Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm 4th Oct at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 17th Oct at 32 Ickleton Road Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING, See WEST LONDON

GLASGOW Every Monday 8 pm, 163a Berkeley Str. et. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

HACKNEY 2nd & 4th Wednesdays in month 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

LEWISHAM Wednesdays 9th and 23rd Oct 8 pm Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushy Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, 2 Davenport Road, SE6.

SPGB Groups

BRIGHTON 3rd Friday in month, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

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BROMLEY For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

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MID HERTS Thursday October 10th 7.30 pm Room 3, The Community Centre, Mill Green Road, Welwyn Garden City. Correspondence: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield, Herts. (Phone Hatfield 4802).

WSPI Branches

BELFAST Tuesdays 8 pm, 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

DUBLIN Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 5 Seville Terrace, North Strand, Dublin 1.

ARMAGH Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 20 Druids Villas, Armagh City, Co. Armagh.

NOTTINGHAM 2nd Wednesday in month (9th Oct.) 8 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street, Correspondence: G. Hallam, 14 Church Drive Carrington, Nottingham.

PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.) Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbrooke Grove, W11.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX 2nd and 4th Monday in month (14th and 28th Oct.) 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: A. Partner 28 Hambro Hill, Rayleigh.

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WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W.5

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (10th and 24th Oct.) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane, Romford, Essex.

WEST LONDON Fridays 8 pm, Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall, Hammer-mith (facing river few minutes from Broadway). Correspondence: B. Warn-cke, 158 Whitton Avenue East, Greenford, Middx.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 8.30 pm, 18 Ribblesdale Road, N8 (opposite Hornsey Railway Station - nearest Tube, Turnoike Lane). Correspondence to secretary at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (11th and 25th Oct.) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens Eltham, SE9.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: M. Hopwood, St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale. Nr Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Enquiries: T. Lord 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran near Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

CENTRAL Details from Secretary, 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast 15.

LISBURN Discussion group meets regularly Details from B. McCloskey c/o Head Office.

PORTADOWN & DISTRICT Would persons interested in the formation of a discussion group contact group secretary c/o 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

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October 1963 Vol 59 No 710

Socialist Standard

Journal of the Socialist Party
of Great Britain and the World
Socialist Party of Ireland



TORY AND LABOUR

What difference is there?

Labour governments aren't what they used to be. They no longer send chills of horror down the spines of the rich, the near-rich, and workers with a few pounds in the savings bank. It was not always so.

Forty years ago when, for the first time a Labour government took over in Britain, there was quite a lot of fear and panic in the air, even though Ramsay MacDonald went to great pains to give his cabinet an image of respectability by appointing a number of peers. In particular by making one of them, Lord Chelmsford, who had no Labour Party associations, First Lord of the Admiralty so that those who feared the worst could at least feel that the Navy was not in dangerous hands. That Government lasted for about nine months.

The Norwegian Labour Government which came into office in 1928 was less circumspect about its power to inspire fear. Instead of putting the Navy into the hands of a conservative it announced its intention to disarm altogether and threatened other things horrifying to the propertied class. There was a sharp financial crisis and out they went after a fortnight. After a few years mellowing they were back again, with no panic, and continued in government with hardly a break for twenty eight years; only to resign now after narrowly escaping defeat on a Parliamentary vote of 'no confidence'.

What is significant about the changeover from a Labour to a Conservative government in Norway is the general comment of political observers that it will make little or no difference. The *Guardian's* comment was typical.

"Political observers," it said, predict that the new government "will make few changes in domestic or foreign policy". When the Norwegian Labour Party took over in 1928 it promised to put the interests of the workers first and to introduce what it called Socialism. Now the voters in Norway know that capitalism will carry on in much the same way whichever party is in power.

It is the same here. No one with any knowledge of the present political situation thinks that a Labour Party victory at the next election would be followed by drastic social changes. If such a thing were possible it would mean that the differences between the Labour Party and the Conservatives are deep and vital, whereas in fact the publicity men in both organisations have a hard time finding differences that look big enough to fight an election.

As fears of Labour government have receded, there is more scope for conservatives and others to air their views on problems of taxation and government, without being obsessed with their old apprehensions of ruin and revolution. So Mr. Harold Wincott, writing in the *Financial Times* last July, was urging his readers to consider what to them must have seemed a novel proposition. The great problem of the 'nation' (meaning of course, British capitalism) is, he argued that of halting and reversing the enormous increase of government expenditure that has taken place during this century. This, for him, is so much the greatest problem that he could write:—"I am . . . sure that until a solution to it is found no government of whatever party, or under whatever leadership, will

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings, etc., for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets 4th Sunday of each month at the Head Office, 5 Granville Buildings, 53 High Street, Belfast 1, at 3.30 pm. Next meeting October, 27th.

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY 152

NEWS IN REVIEW

AT HOME 153
Crime, Lord Nuffield, Diet on the dole, The Scientists

ABROAD 154
Civil rights march, South Africa and Nyasaland

BUSINESS 155
Whistling in the dark, BEA's hidden profits

SOCIALISTS & THE KIBBUTZNIK . 156

BRANCH NEWS 157

DEMONSTRATION IN

WASHINGTON 158

REPORT FROM SOUTH AFRICA . 159

T.U.C. WAGES & PLANNING . . 160

FINANCE AND INDUSTRY . . . 161

THE PASSING SHOW 162

MEETINGS 162

THE IRISH PRESS & THE S.S . 163

THE TRAGEDY OF DRESDEN . . 164

Delegate Meeting
 52 Clapham High Street, SW4
 Saturday and Sunday
 October 5th and 6th

A Social for members and sympathisers will be held Saturday October 5th from 7.30 at 52 Clapham High St., SW4. During the evening our comrades Grant and Macarthy will give a brief account of their recent visits to the U.S.A. and Ireland.

Forthcoming meeting
 Kensington Library
 Lecture Hall
 (rear of Town Hall)
 Thursday November 14, 7.45 p.m.

Will all those in the East Essex area, interested in our Object and Principles please contact Joe McGuinness 18 Fairfield Road, Clacton-on-Sea.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD
 October 1913.

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY

Many people, when faced with this question, conjure up pictures of the American eagle, and think that democracy is all that that amiable bird symbolises. They imagine that a State run on the lines of the American Republic is a democratic State, that the institutions of such a State are democratic institutions, that the spirit of such a State is the democratic spirit, and that the philosophy of such a State—the "Rights of Man" (printed, of course, on the reverse side of a "green-back")—is the democratic philosophy.

All of which ideas are wrong. The common meaning of the term "democracy"—a form of society in which supreme power is lodged in the hands of the people—is correct enough

achieve more than temporary success."

It seems that the real, long-term interests of Britain would best be served in part if the Tories lost the next election and, going into opposition, gave themselves the time to solve the outstanding problems of our age.

From that point Mr. Wincott's reasoning goes thus:— A Labour government is likely to go on increasing the size of government expenditure; the Tories are better suited—in the long run—to tackle the twin jobs of getting economy and efficiency, but at present the Tory government is quite unable to think about it let alone do it; so the best solution would be a Labour government in office and the Tories in opposition where they could think about the great task of reducing the amount of the capitalist's income sucked away to run the Administration. And he adds:—

This would indeed be an alarming situation, since it would mean that both parties had failed in the same way at once. . . . If the Labour Party first wins and then fails, that would produce a crises of confidence not in the Government, but in government itself.

That was Mr. Wincott in the *Financial Times* in July. Two months later the Editor of the *Sunday Times* (1st September) started another hare. He would have agreed with Mr. Wincott that a Labour electoral victory was not particularly alarming, nor even a successful Labour government. What he fears is a Labour government which proves a failure:

It could be summed up by saying that the *Sunday Times* is not afraid of a Labour Government because it would hardly be distinguishable from a Tory one. A year, or perhaps two years, after a Labour victory the electors may discover "that nothing really new has happened, that the Labour Party has no answers which the Conservatives did not have, that it has only some other and less energetic Ministers and a younger and perhaps more energetic leader".

The *Sunday Times* and Mr. Wincott see the problem rather differently. While the latter appears to put the major emphasis on cutting down expenditure, the *Sunday Times* editor takes the line that administrative methods are hopelessly out-of-date and that top priority should be given to that problem. "Reform of the system of government is the essential preliminary to all other reforms".

Of course the fears and hopes of those two gentlemen do not exhaust the possibilities, nor do the policies or lack of policies of the major political parties. If a realisation that there is little to choose between Labour and Tory Government turns workers' thoughts to a realisation that there is a deeper problem, concerned with social structure and class relationship, they may be the readier to come our way and work for Socialism.

as far as it goes, and is sufficient in all that it implies. But it implies something very different from the American Republic, and American institutions, and the "Rights of Man."

For supreme power to be lodged in the hands of the people does not mean merely that they are to have the widest possible franchise and equal voting power. It implies that the people are to have complete control of all social institutions, the ordering of all social activities, the domination of the whole social life. Such a condition of affairs presupposes at the very outset the ownership by the people of all the means of life, all the social products, even all the social intelligence and skill and energy.

There can be no other foundation

for democracy than this common ownership of all the means of life, for where these fall into private possession social distinctions at once spring up, the owners become dominators, and it becomes impossible for the people to control the social activities—because, forsooth, they have not control of the means and instruments through which the most important of those activities—those directed to the production of the social wealth—are applied.

Notwithstanding, then, the popular conviction to the contrary, existing republics no more enfold democracy than do monarchies. Nor are they nearer to it since they are no nearer to the property condition upon which democracy must be founded.

THE NEWS IN REVIEW

AT HOME

Crime

The continued search for the Cheddington mail robbers, enlivened by some startlingly intimate newspaper reports of the details of the crime (one paper said that the master mind is a miser who lives in Brighton) once again highlighted the fact that the working class are always on the lookout for an easy way out of the joys of their social situation.

The discovery of some of the money in hiking country around Dorking set off a Sunday afternoon equivalent of the Pools, as crowds of people combed woods and fields for what they hoped was going to be a lucky find. There was no lack of discussion about what they would all do if they came across some of the loot. Stick to it? Turn it in and claim the reward? On one thing, everyone seemed agreed. If such a piece of luck came their way, they would use it for all they were worth to help themselves get out of the working class.

Now this puts something of a perspective upon the remarks of Dr. John Mays, Lecturer in Social Science at Liverpool University, who said this about the cause of crime to a Howard League conference at Nottingham: "When they see people enjoying a better standard of living they ask why they should not have it. That leads to some of them to snatch and grab for themselves."

Anyone who expects a Lecturer in Social Science to come up with conclusive answers to the problems which his researches uncover, may have dreamed of Dr. Mays pointing out that most crime exists only because capitalism exists. If capitalism were abolished, this crime would simply fade away into history. But the Doctor came as near to this as anyone could reasonably expect: "The nation's business is to make a good life available for a greater number of people."

And that is just what capitalism is failing to do. The crime figures are only one aspect of this monstrous, vital fact.

Lord Nuffield

While we are on the subject of rich men, we should comment on the death of one who became famous not just for what he owned but also for what he had given away. Capitalism, which is based upon the exploitation of the masses by the few, hypocritically teaches us to respect the man who gives away his money. Pro-

vided, that is, it is all done in a way of which capitalism can approve. Such a man was Lord Nuffield, whose bequests to charities and the like were variously estimated at his death at between sixteen and forty million pounds.

The press flew into action when their hero died, with long obituaries telling us how generous he was, how grateful we should be for his open-handedness, how sad it was that he should go the way of all flesh. None of them, in the thousands of words they spewed out, asked the obvious question.

Where did the millions which Nuffield gave away come from, in the first place?

And, equally, none of them gave the only tenable answer:

From the exploitation of the workers in his factories.

Diet on the dole

Evidence of what the good life means to many people has come from County Durham, where the West Hartlepool Council has devised a diet to feed a family of four or five pounds a week. West Hartlepool has three thousand people out of work at the moment and, if the economic portents are being read correctly, can expect a lot more as the winter draws on. It is also the place, as we recorded last month, where Cerebos Ltd. planned to dump a hundred tons of meat and fish paste into the sea because they are changing the shapes of their jars.

There were no reports of the West Hartlepool unemployed, nor of their long suffering wives, protesting at the insult which has been added to their injury. There were only photographs of patient, if bemused, housewives at the demonstration of the diet. It has not, apparently, occurred to anyone that there is something insulting in supporting a social system which cannot secure even a meagre livelihood for its productive members, and then lecturing them, when times are hard, on the techniques of living on short rations.

Are the working class too buffeted, too loaded with the degradations and the insults of capitalism to care? Perhaps they are. On the very same week as the diet was being demonstrated in West Hartlepool the *Sunday Telegraph* reported that Minister of Labour Mr. John Hare would soon be able to wrestle with the problem of the unemployed in a new

home in Holland Park. He, poor fellow, has been driven from his former home in Sussex Place, Regents Park, by an expiring lease. Never mind. The new Hare home, after one or two alterations, will be worth over £100,000. Mr. Hare is married to a sister of "immensely rich" Lord Cowdray.

Perhaps the unemployed in the Hartlepool do not read the *Sunday Telegraph*. Nor, perhaps, its sister paper the *Daily Telegraph*, which told us a few days later about some of the people who will never have to worry about their food budget because to all intents and purposes, they own, among other things, Scotland (which after all is not very far from County Durham). Here are just a few of the owners:

The Duke of Buccleuch, 500,000 acres.
 The Duke of Sutherland, 250,000 acres.
 Cameron of Lochiel, 150,000 acres.
 Col. David Greig, 90,000 acres.

The Scientists

Answers were hard to find, too, at this year's meeting of the British Association. All sorts of problems are aired at this annual orgy of scientific speechifying but, apart from technical matters, it is virtually impossible to find, among the thousands of words, a hint of the solution to society's ailments. The scientists 'can pose the question very nicely, usually with a mass of supporting evidence. But the answer? That is a different matter.

Here, for example, is Professor C. F. Carter, Vice Chancellor of Lancaster University, worrying about the problem of economic growth:

Britain is showing increasing signs of tiredness not only in government but in the Civil Service and in some parts of industry, and it badly needs the energy of a fresh generation . . . Britain could have a five per cent growth rate if people worked harder and longer but people would not work hard to create material wealth unless it was considered desirable and respectable to enjoy the fruits of their labour.

And here is the Professor's solution to



THE NEWS IN REVIEW

the problem he has stated:

The economic system must be organised with reasonable efficiency and honesty. The vigour of new ideas must not be suffocated by a dead weight of orthodoxy and the energy of the young must not be frustrated by the power of the old.

It is difficult to believe that Professor Carter—and perhaps some of his audience—are unaware of the fact that there is nothing new about his suggestion. They must surely have noticed that, whether young people or old are in charge of capitalism, the anomalies, the frustrations and the inhumanities of the system remain untouched. There is, further, nothing especially unorthodox in suggesting that the younger element be given their chance. Nor anything, especially

hopeful or inspiring. Is this the best that the scientists can offer us? Apparently so.

The tragedy about scientists, in fact, is that they never seem able to hit on the real solution to capitalism's problems. With all their training—some of it training in how to think straight, how to assess evidence and to reach a defensible conclusion—they never seem to grasp one of the most obvious facts of present day society. Very, very few of them ever consider the idea that there may be something in the basic nature of capitalism which is always going to prevent it from settling its own difficulties.

Scientists, in other words, are just as ready as any of the great unscientific mass outside their conference hall to support capitalism, with all its anomalies and illogicalities. They turn not a hair

at helping to make the devilish devices with which rival nations fight their wars. They are always on hand to look into, and to try to control, any of capitalism's problems. This year's British Association learned that Professor R. V. Jones, professor of natural philosophy at Aberdeen University, will soon be joining the Ministry of Defence to advise on scientific matters. To advise, in other words, on the scientific aspects of the war effort of British capitalism. Professor Jones himself said that it was "a little unfortunate" that the news of his appointment had leaked out at a meeting of the Association. It is even more unfortunate for the human race that long training and extensive knowledge should be diverted into the modern war machines instead of being applied to the benefit of society.



ABROAD

Civil Rights March

The Civil Rights demonstration in Washington was, in terms of its numbers alone, massively successful. But it was no more than that.

The Negroes in the United States, just like all other oppressed racial groups everywhere else, are discriminated against because of the false ideas of those who do the discriminating. In some ways, capitalism needs an ignorant working class—and these are the very people who will try to explain away the system's shortcomings by venting their spleen on the Jew, or the Negro or some other Minority group. At times, a government will actually foster such ideas—in wartime, for example, it helps to have a working class who think that the other side is inherently bestial and possesses inferior fighting abilities.

This kind of ignorance cannot be cleared out by demonstrations, however massive they may be. Capitalism thrives on ignorance of one sort or another; the only people who are immune to racial theories are those who have realised that the private property system is not in their interests and who work for its abolition.

South Africa & Nyasaland

Not only race theories, but race lunacy, in South Africa, where the dour censorship of the Nationalist government

often makes them look foolish. The latest victim of the Pretoria blue pencil is the Peter Sellers film *Heavens Above*, which is in trouble in the Republic because it shows, among other scenes, the white vicar taking tea with his Negro churchwarden, the same churchwarden at the font at the christening of a white baby, helping the vicar off with his coat, and so on.

It is tempting to say: "How stupid can you get?" and to leave it at that. But, of course, the vicious race oppression in South Africa deserves more comment. For that is the country where racial theories are actually holding back the very advance of capitalist society, where the economically powerful industrialists find that their hopes are so often frustrated by the Nationalist government's primitive ideas and fears of black revolution. In some ways, it is a deeply frightening spectacle. The immediate outlook for South Africa is not happy. It is dark with the promise of savage conflict, with little hope for humanity and reason in it.

It is small relief to turn from lunatic South Africa to some of the countries where the Negro nationalists have come to power. Ghana, as we all know, is a classic example of an intolerant government. Everybody can remember the self destructive anarchy of the early days of independence in the Belgian Congo. In other parts of Africa, too, the erstwhile fighters for independence have shown that, when they are in power, their

followers would be wise to forget the more purple passages in the speeches they made in the old days of struggle.

Dr. Banda, who suffered imprisonment for his advocacy of independence for Nyasaland, is a man who must be trying to do a lot of forgetting. In his case, the usual strictures upon the people of the country to work harder, to serve diligently the cause of Nyasaland's aspirant capitalist class and to become, in other words, meek, respectable citizens, has been accompanied by an attempt to impose a degree of public adulation which is as ridiculous as any of the antics of the censors in Pretoria.

When he is out and about, Dr. Banda likes to have the road to himself. That is why the Nyasaland Legislative Assembly has recently been debating a Bill which will compel motorists and cyclists to pull up at the side of the road when Banda's convoy approaches. Is this not ludicrously reminiscent of Charlie Chaplin with his globe and his microphones in *The Great Dictator*? There is only one comment which fills the bill. We shall give way to the temptation which earlier we resisted. How stupid can you get?

THE NEWS IN REVIEW

BUSINESS

Whistling in the dark

One of the lively minds who, the ads. tell us, write *The Guardian*, has found something in the world of business to be cheerful about. "Optimism," said the papers City column on August 27th, "Is in the air . . . most people appear to take the view that the way lies reasonably clear ahead for the next six months at least."

In some sections of industry and commerce, this is at least partly true. The shipbuilders report a brighter outlook, estimating that by the end of this year their orders will be over the million ton mark, compared to 610,000 tons for last year. *The Guardian's* conclusion, as we might have expected, was that this is all due to the measures in last April's Budget and to the other financial juggling which the government has since tried, such as the £60 million loan scheme for the shipbuilding industry.

But there is another side to the picture. Other industries are not doing so well. On the same day—indeed, on the same page—as *The Guardian* was carolling its optimism abroad, it reported that The Metal Box Company is worried about the lack of orders and finds that the tax "incentives" have had little effect upon its markets. Still on the same page, Rael Brook, the shirt company which rose so dramatically a few years ago, was also said to be on harder times; its current dividend has taken a cut by half, mainly as a result of an unsuccessful venture into the production of trousers. Among the other firms which are suffering from a pronounced lack of optimism are Metal Industries (predicting lower profits for this year) and John Brown, the shipbuilders (profits expected to be "clearly not . . . as great for the next two years").

Only a few days later *The Guardian* sobered its cheerfulness with the news that the long forecast upsurge in consumer spending has not come to pass and that the retail sale figures for July were well short of the hopes which had been held out for them. And July, let us not forget, was the month when the tax adjustments of the last Budget were supposed to be flooding the working class with excessive spending power. *The Guardian* hesitated not at turning the necessary somersault:

This is sad news for the optimists—including Mr. Maudling—who have been scanning the figures eagerly each month for signs of the genuine recovery that they felt was on the way.

Now if this makes it seem as if *The Guardian* does not know its own mind on the subject of the business of British capitalism, we do not have to look very far for the reason: "Just why consumers generally are still holding off from spending more freely is anyone's guess." (Sept. 3rd) and: "But no one can say for sure what sort of time lag we must expect before the next investment boom gets under way." (August 27th).

The point is that the men in the Treasury—and those who write clever articles about them in the newspaper—claim that they can do better than guess about the economy. They should be sure about investment booms. It is illogical, to put it mildly, to support capitalism in one breath and in the next to admit that it is an uncontrollable system of guesses and uncertainties. And, in these circumstances, it is even worse to take up talk about "optimism" when we know that capitalism's anarchies can abruptly and ruthlessly make a mockery of the most confident of whistling in the dark.

continued from page 159

REPORT FROM SOUTH AFRICA

when presented with the Nobel Peace Prize, put his finger on the explanation when he said:

There is nothing new in South Africa's apartheid ideas, but South Africa is unique in this: the ideas not only survive in our modern age, but are stubbornly defended, extended and bolstered by legislation at the time when, in the major part of the world they are now largely historical and are either being shamefacedly hidden behind concealing formulations, or are

being steadily scrapped . . . These ideas survive in South Africa because those who sponsor them profit by them . . . They are the moral whitewash for the conditions which exist . . . (our emphasis).

It is quite obvious that, whether by peaceful means, or—as seems more likely now—through civil strife and violence—one day in the not too distant future, the vast Negro and Coloured majority will achieve their objects. But, although

BEA's hidden profits

British European Airways has announced that it has cut its previous year's loss from £1.5 million to £265,000. At the same time, BEA pointed out how generous a deal its shareholders have got from the nationalised industry. The loss was reached after—and not before, as is the case with private industry—BEA had paid out £3,081,521 in interest on capital. In other words, BEA's actual profit last year was £2,816,220. Which shows up for the nonsense it is the talk about a nationalised industry being an automatic money loser.

BEA's profit came, just like any other, from the work of the people whom it employs. Pilots and air hostesses, and the ground crews with their baseball caps, may seem glamorous beings to their earthbound fellows. Yet they are all exploited because that is what capitalism sees is done to all its workers, on land, sea and in the air.

It is, incidentally, worth noting the order in which BEA, in sound, traditional capitalist manner, put human welfare and its own commercial interests. At the Press Conference to introduce the Corporation's report, chairman Lord Douglas of Kirtleside was asked for his views on the Noise Abatement Society's proposal to reduce the offensiveness of London Airport by moving it to Foulness Island in the Thames Estuary.

Lord Douglas is famous for not minding his words.

"Bloody crazy," he replied.

many of the inhuman and impossible conditions imposed on them now will have disappeared, they will still be faced with the problems and troubles which beset workers in a capitalist society. When they have achieved a way of life on a par with that of their fellow workers, both White and Black throughout the world, they will be able to listen to and accept the case for Socialism and join with us in the struggle to establish it.

E. G.

The Socialist attitude to the Kibbutznik

FIRST, we had better define our two terms. Most of our readers will probably know what a Socialist is. But if, for example, you think he is a follower of say, Harold Wilson or Nikita Khrushchev, you would be sadly mistaken. Socialists are people who want political power for one purpose only, to revolutionise the world we live in, and change it from a Capitalist system to a Socialist one, where the means of life are owned by society as a whole. Which of course rules out the Khrushchevs and the Wilsons. They want power sure enough. But whatever labourites and communists have used power for, they have never used it for making the means of life into the common property of all the people. No sensible person even expects them to.

What are kibbutzniks? They are Israelis who live in various kinds of communal settlement (the kibbutz). It is the purpose of this article to tell something about this interesting experiment, to show what the kibbutznik aim at, what they achieve, and to see what lessons they provide for those interested in Socialism.

The general background of the kibbutz movement is that among the many Jews who became Zionists (people who believed that the remedy for anti-semitism and persecution from which Jews have suffered for centuries was to form a Jewish State in Palestine) were some who felt that the economic basis of their life should be communal. These people were dissatisfied not only with anti-semitism but also with capitalism and considered themselves to be Socialists. They therefore formed themselves into groups, varying in size from a few dozen to a few hundred, for the purpose of organising their lives on farm settlements in what was formerly Palestine and is now Israel.

Most members of these groups were young Jews from Eastern Europe. They had to be young because the conditions were arduous, the land often barren and malarial, and the surrounding Arab population hostile and dangerous. And it is no coincidence that the bulk of these pioneers came from countries like Poland and Tsarist Russia, because there anti-semitism was rife and so-called Socialist movements were thick on the ground. There were a number of different "movements" among the settlers roughly corresponding to the kind of left-wing movements they were used to in Europe—Labour (Mapai), left-wing and somewhat fellow-travelling labour (Hashomer Hatsair) and various orthodox religious groups.

One thing they had in common was that they were all idealists who wanted to show that there was another kind of life (and another kind of Jew) than the one of sweating in tailoring factories or furniture works or, for the go-getters and the successful minority, the chance of becoming rich exploiters themselves. They wanted to show the world that people can live in a spirit of one-for-all and all-for-one. They obtained land mainly with funds raised from the charity of Jews rich and poor who stayed in the countries of the west, and from the same source they also obtained the capital to buy materials for building their living quarters and farm buildings. The land was usually cheap because in many cases it was desert and swamp and the main asset of the group was the enthusiasm, the sweat and tears (often also the blood) of the kibbutzniks themselves.

Many readers will have already detected a similarity between this sort of movement and others which have been tried in various countries of Europe and, particularly, of America. The one important difference appears to be that, after a history of up to about 50 years, with new settlements being formed even now, the kibbutz movement can make a reasonable claim to have stood the test of time—some time at least. Any visitor to Israel can see for himself that the kibbutz are viable institutions; they work. And by and large, the majority of the people are reasonably satisfied with their daily lives.

Now perhaps we can take a look at the way a typical kibbutz is run and in so doing we may be able to see how their ideas compare with those of Socialists. We will find that the kibbutzniks are not Socialists. The fact that they call themselves Socialists proves nothing. After all, so does Khrushchev, so does Wilson. But we may find some features of kibbutz life which we are happy to salute as demonstrating the truth of some of the things we Socialists claim.

"From each according to his ability." That, the first half of the Socialist's golden rule for the kind of society he wants to create, is by and large a principle which works in practice in the settlements. The problem of the scrounger, the lazy man who will let his fellows do the work, is one that is always thrust at Socialist propagandists; it is not a problem that causes much loss of sleep in the kibbutz. The average settler does his best for the settlement because he knows that it belongs to him as much as to anyone. He knows he is working for his own wife and children as well as others. And he knows that the work is necessary for the settlement to survive; and acting on this knowledge, he behaves not like a rat in a capitalist rat race but like a human being.

The problem of "who will do the dirty work" is also one that does not loom large. There is a lot of dirty work on a communal farm. It gets done because it has to be done. Those who are used to looking down on the dustman forget that this is only the case because he is regarded as an also-ran who has failed in the rat-race towards so-called better (and of generally better-paid) jobs. The kibbutznik who cleans the cowshed does so because it needs cleaning. He is doing a job for the good of all. And because of this he is looked up to and not down upon by his fellows. Surprisingly enough, this makes the cow-dung less smelly. Some people like doing the job and have only pity for the white-collared clerk in a London bank who adds up his incessant rows of figures of other people's money. Of course, they are sensible enough to rotate jobs as much as possible, when elections take place for administrative committees to run the affairs of the community, the cowman's vote is equal to the secretary's. He is in fact just as likely to be elected himself, and in such a process, the principle of leadership tends to get lost. Which is the best thing that can happen to it.

"To each according to his need." It is in this second half of our dictum that the kibbutz shows its essential failing. Socialism encourages a world which is built upon the enormous powers of production which capitalist society has engendered. A world where goods are so plentiful that we can all have free access to them in the way that we have virtually

free access to water now. The kibbutz, far from utilising the enormous powers created by international capitalism, is by very definition a small-scale isolated enterprise. As such it cannot produce goods in teeming abundance so that all can help themselves freely. On the contrary, kibbutzniks can only have a limited ration of limited supplies. It is only their idealism that enables the settlers to run with reasonable smoothness a society where everyone must be spartan enough to take only an equal share of the modest amount available. And partly for this reason, most of the workers of Israel prefer to work for private capitalists. But think how life could be if only we all had a chance to share, not in parsimony, but in abundance.

The kibbutz is an attempt to make little islands in the world-wide ocean of capitalism. It cannot be self-sufficient (not even a giant country like Russia or the U.S. could be that) so it must produce its goods—normally farm produce—for sale on the capitalist market. In return it buys the things it cannot produce—clothes, bricks, glass, tractors, radios and the countless other essentials. It is therefore at the mercy of the market like all capitalist enterprises and the demand for (and the price of) its products shows the usual anarchic fluctuations of glut and shortage that the capitalist world knows so well. Socialism means, among other things, production not for sale on a market but directly for the use of human beings. No kibbutznik, be he never so convinced that he is a living expo-

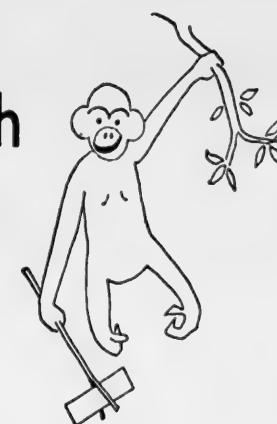
nent of Socialism, can claim that his movement has anything like this basic feature of Socialism: most of them, in fact, will hardly be aware that Socialism poses this as a basic fundamental. The kibbutz is as far from this as is every other section of our capitalist world.

The kibbutz movement has to struggle with the fact that many of its younger members become dissatisfied with their small island and are lured to the big world where there are so many of the things that large scale production offers—not to speak of theatres and pavement cafes and sea-beaches. But it has an advantage over most such experiments in that the Israeli government finds the settlements and their idealistic (and often chauvinistic) members to be valuable adjuncts of their military forces. If and when their use in this respect is less important, the kibbutz will find that the government's benevolence and support, which have been so valuable to their survival, will tend to disappear. Such are the facts of life in a capitalist world.

In a word then—the kibbutznik is not a Socialist. But he is a human being who is demonstrating in practice what we Socialists have always maintained—that people can behave like human beings. And if they can do this under their own difficult restricted circumstances, how much better and easier could it all be in a society of world-wide abundance. For that is what Socialism will be.

L. WEIDBERG.

Branch News



In perfect weather, the warmest, sunniest day for many weeks the Party held its first meeting in Trafalgar Square. Some had reservations as to the wisdom of such a meeting with our limited resources, but doubts were dispelled emphatically. Hundreds of people were in the well of the Square listening to our speakers and many asked questions. Hundreds more were listening through the amplifiers which were at the National Gallery end of the Square. On the plinth of Nelson's Column our platform was set, gaily decorated with banners (one—a really professional affair, large, bold, colourful—made for the occasion by

our comrade Helen Rose).

Party members—old, young, new, long standing—were selling literature and fund collecting. The meeting was excellently conducted with a most attentive audience. Good questions were put to the speakers.

An attractive literature stand was well placed for all to see, and apart from sales members were in attendance to answer queries. A number of enquiries were made. Names and addresses were left for forwarding literature etc.

The collection amounted to £18, literature sales totalled over £13.

The success of the meeting was stimulating beyond measure. Not for a long time have so many members been seen together in such a happy and enthusiastic mood. The Committees and Party officials who were responsible for the arrangements must be well pleased with their work and are to be congratulated on one of the most exhilarating displays of Party propaganda.

This, the first rally of its kind held in London by the Party certainly won't be the last.

October 5th and 6th (Saturday afternoon)

and all day Sunday) is the date of the 1963 Delegate Meeting which is being held at Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, SW4. Monday October 21st at 8 pm Hampstead Town Hall. Please make a note of the date and come along with as many visitors as possible. Fuller details of the meeting elsewhere in this issue.

Glasgow Branch are keeping up their good work. Having rented a Branch room which is available all the week, members are busy decorating it in order that they can make the most of it, especially as they want to be well prepared for the next General Election campaign.

The EC had a gay post card from our comrade Grant (only just now back from America) who said at the time he was just off to the WSP Conference, had had 1½ hours tape recording for radio and had attended the Washington March (where he regretted that for this first time ever he was at a demonstration without Party literature). It is hoped that a full report of his trip will be ready for the next issue of the Socialist Standard.

P.H.

Demonstration in Washington

THE demonstration by two hundred thousand people in Washington recently to protest at discrimination against the American Negro was an example of self-disciplined protest—restrained, yet massively determined. August 28th marked the flaring of accumulated frustrations that had smouldered for over two centuries. From this time forward the character of the Negroes' struggle is altered, they have a national organisation and specifically formulated demands that they can pursue in the spotlight of world-wide publicity.

"Nobody knows the trouble I seen" is a familiar lament of a Negro blues song. It expresses the special misery of 19 million people who have inherited a legacy of hatred and violent suffering. Although it is possible to recognise it as a fact, nobody who has not experienced it can feel on his shoulders the harrowing burden of American Negro history. And even now, for the Negro, life offers unstinted humiliation, for added to his exploitation as a wage worker, in every corner of American social life he faces the pointed finger that accuses him of racial inferiority.

In public transport, he is still to a large extent accommodated on sufferance, unseen at the rear of the bus, or on segregated trains he is refused the privilege of using the dining car. Of perhaps more importance, he is denied any equal access to education. In the area of employment, he is the last hired and the first fired, which in an economy that for years has supported millions of unemployed, involves the Negro in semi-permanent economic depression. In housing and other social amenities the Negro gets the worst of everything. In respect of freedom of speech and the franchise he is prevented by brutal intimidation, more particularly in the southern states, from exercising his ostensible right to vote. Here again, his right to assemble is jeopardised and made physically dangerous by the police. In some localities, the Negroes' struggle is reduced to one about basic democratic rights, which for many decades white workers have been able to take for granted. In these areas, the political climate for the Negro is no different than in the police state.

Against the repressive atmosphere in which the Negro still has to live, there exist counter tendencies. On the one hand there are social pressures acting against the exercise of colour discrimination. Whilst without doubt there is an hardcore of prejudice built into attitudes of older generations, younger generations will be more susceptible to attacks on this issue through the media of radio, television, cinema and the press. There are dozens of books and pamphlets now available on archeology, biology and all departments of the social sciences that refute, and reveal the intellectual shallowness of, bigoted views on race. Against this phalanx of argument, documented with detailed evidence, the enunciation of prejudice remains the preserve of those whose thought processes are captivated by blind irrationality.

On the face of it, there would seem to be a good deal of affinity between the aspirations of the Negroes in America and the economic and social reforms that the Kennedy Administration seeks to bring into effect. But in truth, the American Government is moved by political and economic compulsions that take into account the interests of Negroes in only an incidental way. It was the Eisenhower Administration that saw the uneducated, under privileged Negro represented the greatest single aspect of manpower wastage in the United States.

To an economy dedicated to a doctrine of steady expansion, the unfitness of the quality of Negro labour power is an enormously inhibiting factor. This applies especially to the southern states, where since the end of the second world war, there has been a rapid development and intense concentration of secondary industry, a phase in the history of the total economy which amounts to a second age of expansion. Indeed, the financial cost of local prejudice to the American capitalist class runs high. Enormous amounts of money are invested in the institutions and general facilities for education. This represents an investment in the quality of tomorrow's available exploitable labour power. That a large section of the working class should remain more or less unaffected by this preparation process is a costly economic absurdity.

The unfitness of the Negro for exploitation in a community geared to production of an increasingly complex technical nature is of critical relevance to the future of the American state, both economically and militarily. Reformist politicians who exercise power in the administration of capitalism are not men of principle but are flexible "realists," who react promptly to the needs of the moment. And though they may describe their ends and their motives in terms of glowingly humane moral appeals which are often hard to resist, ultimately their eye is on the fast buck and the military strength of the power they represent.

The question that Negroes must ask themselves is whether capitalism can accommodate all their needs and aspirations towards material security, the freedom and opportunity to develop their individuality and the realisation of harmonious integration with the rest of humanity.

Capitalism cannot give the working class of any colour material security. Its entire method of producing and distributing wealth is based on a system of sale for profit and there can be no security in a distribution system that overrides human needs in favour of the vagaries of market demands, a system that always includes the risk of creating unemployment and so shutting off the provision of material necessities. Even the earning of a regular wage is not enough to provide these necessities for individual needs from birth until death.

The part of this Negro protest demanding scope for the development of individuality cannot be realised within capitalism, the very basis of which is the exploitation of man by man. The contribution of the individual to society through his work is made under capitalism the very means by which he is being brought under economic subjection. Under the duress of his poverty, the worker is forced to sell his physical energies to an employer for wages. The very essence of his individual existence, his power to labour socially, is brought under the control of another, his employer, in exchange for wages. How then can any wage worker of any colour, who donates his whole life in the employ of other men, who works most waking hours of most of his working life at the direction of other men, possibly develop individuality?

Again, capitalism can never provide the Negro with his dream of true social integration. Because capitalism is based on the ethic of material interest at the expense of other men, it inevitably must remain a divided society. There can be no social integration for any man whatever his colour where there is no genuine world wide community of interests and where almost every aspect of social life is in vicious competition,

individual against individual, group against group, nation against nation.

It is vital that sooner or later Negroes should transcend any strong identification they have with what they may regard as an exclusively "Negro" interest. At the moment, at least in America, this is made extremely difficult for them. In a hundred and one ways, American life drives the Negro into insularity and narrow fugitive attitudes, and to some extent, especially where democratic rights are concerned, their views can be understood.

At the same time, it must be remembered that there are no solutions to the problems of this world that hold out hope to any particular section of men without holding out hope at the same time to all men. Individuals have had the courage and the generosity to rise above the embittering agony of their recent history. James Baldwin writes "I am not a nigger—I am a man." We equally wish to simplify things and join in the refutation of "Niggers," "Yids," "Wogs," "Proddydogs," "Yocks" and "White Trash". We too want to celebrate—Man.

P. I.

REPORT FROM SOUTH AFRICA

BOOK: *I Will Still be Moved* (Reports from South Africa.) Edited by Marion Friedman (*Arthur Baker*, 24s.).

DR. VERWOERD claims that his policy of apartheid is aimed, not at subjugating the Negro and Coloured Peoples of the Republic (who constitute the vast majority of its population), but that the Bantustan developments he plans is for "separate but equal development along the lines most suited to them." It is doubtful whether even he and his Ministers still believe this—if they ever did—with the glaring evidence to the contrary which comes to light every day. He himself, when Minister of Bantu Affairs, explaining his Government's policy on African education said: "There is no place for him (the African) . . . above the level of certain forms of labour."

The case histories in this book were chosen to show in how many different ways this glaring untruth is constantly being demonstrated.

The case of Nelson Langa gives a brief insight into the terrible conditions obtaining in farm jails, where "convicted" Negroes are "sold" to European farmers to work in conditions of abject slavery. The fact that, in the majority of cases, they have never been in front of a magistrate, much less convicted, has no relevance to the treatment they receive. In a rounding up of "unemployed Africans who were roaming the streets," Nelson Langa was taken, in spite of the fact that at the time he was wearing the badge of the municipal authority which employed him as a street cleaner and was actually carrying his broom. On the other hand, he was not carrying his pass for which, on conviction, the maximum penalty is a £1 fine. However, the small formality of charging

him was dispensed with and with many others he was put on a lorry and "sold" to a farmer in the Bethal district. After long enquiries, his brother found out what had happened and, with the aid of a lawyer, managed to get him released. There was, of course, no question of compensation yet Mr. Langa was "lucky" in having his freedom restored, in most cases family and friends never find out what has happened to their breadwinner or whether, in fact, he is still alive.

Patrick Duncan, a White editor, now a prohibited person and living in England, said in his address to the magistrate when charged with contravening the emergency regulations:

. . . How else can one explain the cruel cancellation of the African school-feeding scheme, while White children continue to be fed by the State? How else can one explain the mean attempt to abridge and constrict, by administrative action, the pension scheme for non-Whites which this government inherited from its predecessors? How else can one explain the present intention of this government to institute family allowances—for Whites only?

Later in his speech he enumerated some of the unjust legislation, which shows up any claims for "separate but equal developments" for what they are; the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act (separate and unequal facilities), Urban Areas Act which, with its "influx control" splits up families, the Land Act of 1913 under which 85 per cent. of the surface of the land in South Africa is closed to ownership to 66 per cent. of the population; the feudal pass law, under the misleading title of Abolition of Passes Act, the Job Reservation Law, Bantu Authorities Act, the Bantu Education Act.

The case of Nelson Mandele, the "Black Pimpernel" received quite a lot of publicity outside South Africa. It is from his speech in his own defence against a charge of "inciting people to strike"—it is illegal for African or Coloured workers to strike—as well as leaving the country without a valid travel document, that the title of this book is taken. He concluded with the words:

. . . rest assured that, when my sentence has been completed, I will still be moved, as men are always moved by their consciences; I will still be moved by my dislike of the race discrimination against my people when I come out from serving my sentence, to take up again, as best I can, the struggle for the removal of those injustices, until they are finally abolished once and for all.

As explained in the Acknowledgements, the editor's comments and the introduction, the purpose of this book is twofold; to give voice to the voiceless in South Africa, and to raise funds to aid them in their fight. Although of course, the book is banned in South Africa, the hope is expressed that "one day (it will) be read where it most matters . . . and that this evidence of folly, injustice and irrationality will provoke action even from those who are not directly its victims."

There is certainly plenty of evidence on all these indictments and many others. This small volume can, obviously, cover only a very few of the many cases of injustice and persecution over the last decade, and this review can only mention one or two of these. How one section of people can treat another in such inhuman ways, seems incredible at first sight. However, Chief Albert Luthuli, in his address

continued page 155

Wages and planning

WHEN the delegates at the TUC last month discussed wages and planning they managed to get into quite a deal of confusion.

They voted by a huge majority for a General Council report *Economic Development & Planning* though it contains references to wage restraint, but also voted (by a small majority) against "any form of wage restraint," after the mover Mr. Ted Hill had indicated that it did not really mean what it said but only meant under a Tory government.

The confusion of some of the speeches is in fact even greater than the Press reports indicate. There was Mr. Hill who declared that his organisation, having had experience, "cannot trust any Tory government with our wage packets". Linked up with his declaration about not accepting any form of wage restraint, it presents the picture of Mr. Hill believing in two absurdities: firstly the absurdity of some non-Tory government which has as its aim supporting the workers against the employers on any wage claim they choose to make, and secondly, the equally absurd belief that provided a union rejects wage restraint it can get what it wants without restraint.

The truth is that all governments everywhere resist general upward pressures for higher real wage levels, and when Mr. Hill makes an exception of a Labour Government he has it quite wrong. It just happens that in the post-war years under Labour Government, wage rates were falling behind the cost of living but since then they have moved ahead, a change in which increased willingness to strike has obviously played some part.

Mr. Richard Crossman, Labour MP, frankly admitted, after the Labour Government had gone from office, that British workers could probably have got more if they had been as ready to strike as workers in America, and when Mr. Hill talks about no wage restraint what he really means is that trade unions must not give up the strike weapon. To that extent he is of course on sound ground, and it explains his reluctance and that of many other TUC delegates to accept the belief that planning by the National Economic Development Council can be a substitute for the strike weapon. But to put this in terms of being for or against "restraint" is quite beside the point, for if the Council's plans in fact worked as they hope wage levels would be far less "restrained" than they have ever been.

The Council's plan for expansion envisaged a rise of real wages of somewhere in the region of 3½ per cent a year. The Prime Minister speaking at Cardiff on April 5th put it in definite terms: "If we combine growth policy with incomes policy, the nation as a whole can have a 3½ per cent growth in real income per head".

No union, not Mr. Hill's or any other, has been able to get a 3½ per cent rise of real wages. (3½ per cent a year above whatever is needed to cover increased prices), either under Tory or Labour Government; not 3½ per cent or anything like it. In the period since January 1956 average wage rates have gone up by 33 per cent but the retail price index has risen by 25 per cent, so that the rise in real terms has been about 6 per cent in seven and a half years, less than 1 per

cent a year.

What then is really at issue for the workers is not whether the National Economic Development Council, or the Prime Minister, or the leader of the Labour Party holds out prospects of an annual 3½ per cent rise of real wages they are all prepared to promise this—but whether they or anyone else are in a position to plan such a development into certain existence, and whether working class interest is served in that direction at all.

For, taking the last point first, there should be no doubt or ambiguity about what the TUC is accepting, whether with planning or without. They are accepting the world of capitalism and looking at the problem of the ability of British capitalism to survive and expand in a capitalist world.

The TUC report recognises for example the "frightening prospects of potential overproduction" in world markets, and of "competitive expenditure on armaments in the industrial countries where a quarter of the human race lives, and increasing misery for the other three quarters of the world's population". The Socialist's reaction to this is to urge the replacement of world capitalism by world Socialism, ending both capitalism and class society; the TUC's reaction is to consider how to regulate the trade and aid relationships between the countries of the capitalist world and at the same time secure a working arrangement for planning between the classes at home.

This latter idea is not new: always there have been people urging co-operation for increased production between employers and employed. But always the harsh realities of capitalism keep breaking in: markets getting overstocked and the employers who wanted more production now wanting to stop production; and passivity on the part of the workers being taken advantage of to increase exploitation and profits. No one—and this includes governments as well as employers—can regulate world markets so that the normal expansions and contractions of capitalist industry and trade do not take place.

One last point that should be considered is the hope held out of a possible 4 per cent annual increase of production. By past standards this is a big increase, but in relation to the potentialities of Socialism it is insignificant.

Capitalism, irrespective of the political hue of the government, cannot seriously tackle the job of increasing the production of useful things sufficiently to meet all human needs. It cannot escape the consequences of its own class and competitive nature, shewing themselves in armaments, wars, class conflict, strikes and so on.

Yet workers who have tried to weigh up the arguments at the TUC about wages and planning should consider the Socialist proposition. What really stands in the way of a classless, warless world in which production is directly and solely for the use of all, except the reluctance of most workers to think it out? Certainly no-one who looks back over a century and a half of looking for wages policies can argue that Socialism is unnecessary because things are in a very good shape as they are. All the evidence points the other way.

H.

PARLIAMENTARY FUND We intend to contest three constituencies at the next General Election. Our coffers are low, time is short. Send your donation now to SPGB Parliamentary Fund, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

Flurry in the chicken coop

I had three conversations with Mr. Kennedy, and each time he brought up the subject of poultry. Is he a President or is he a chicken farmer?

Thus Dr. Adenauer, the German chancellor, rather scathingly, about the American preoccupation with chickens. So preoccupied, in fact, that the U.S. Government announced a few days afterwards that they were prepared, if necessary, to do economic battle with the whole of the Common Market to establish their right to continue exporting broilers to Germany.

Second thoughts have taken over since then and U.S. official remarks have become much less belligerent. Some unkind critics have remarked that the thaw set in immediately members of the Six began to point out that they imported three times as much from the U.S. as the U.S. imported from them and that if there was going to be a trade war it wouldn't be the Six who would come out worst.

But why such a fuss in the first place over a cut in, of all things, chicken imports? A cut which in any case only amounted to about \$46 million, 4 per cent of total American broiler production, and a fleabite in total exports? As usual, a small upset is only the first symptom of much more serious trouble.

What the U.S. Government is really afraid of is that the restriction on broiler imports is but a prelude to bigger cuts later on. The Common Market countries in fact import about \$1,200 million

of agricultural products a year from the U.S., including \$370 millions of cereals. "Where will the next cuts fall?" is the American worry.

The whole disturbance, of course, is yet a further reflection of the present crisis in agriculture affecting many parts of the world, the Common Market in particular. Among the Six, France is determined to make herself the chief food provider—at the expense of the United States. At the same time, Germany must come to terms sooner or later with its high cost farmers; it can't go on protecting them with high tariff walls unless it is prepared to see retaliation against its industrial products. And the German capitalists see the red light and are already beginning to squeal.

Only a couple of months have passed since we said that we were going to hear a lot about agriculture in the months to come. It may be the poor relation of present-day capitalism, but it is going to cause lots of trouble to the better-off members of the family before they decide what to do with it. They may end up by palming it off with a regular allowance, small, of course; or marry it off into a richer circle and make it one of themselves, big and efficient. Many of them, of course, would probably like to have it put quietly away—quite an impossibility, however, since capitalists appreciate their food even more than most.

But, by the way things are going, they will need to make a decision one way or the other before very long.

Companion Parties

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Petone.
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

Together again

When the Allies got to work on German industry after the war, they made a brave show of doing something about the Krupps, the Thyssens, and the other steel barons. Their huge empires were broken up as "politically dangerous concentrations of political power": never again were they to come together to threaten the peace of Europe.

The table published elsewhere on this page shows how successful all these wonderful aspirations were.

At the same time in Japan the Americans were busy dismantling the huge Mitsubishi trust. Never again was this powerful economic empire to overshadow Japanese policy and help push the

country into aggressive war.

Now the three units into which the original group was broken up have just been put together again into Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Ltd. The new company will become Japan's biggest ship-builder and one of the biggest producers of railway rolling stock, cars, industrial machinery, and aircraft. Only Hitachi, again mentioned in our "top twenty" table, will have a larger turnover. With 77,000 workers Mitsubishi will have the biggest labour force in Japan.

Yet another example of the intrinsic drive for capitalism's units to get bigger and bigger in spite even of difficulties deliberately put in the way.

The top twenty

Earlier this year (in our February issue) we published details of the top twenty British firms. Now *Fortune*, the American finance magazine, has compiled a list in its August issue of the top two hundred firms in the whole of the world, excluding the U.S. itself.

It is obviously too much for us to reproduce the full list, but readers may be interested to see the names of the top twenty. The list relates order of precedence to sales; there would be some changes in the order if net assets or net profits had been taken as the criterion. But the main pattern is here, nevertheless.

Company	Sales (\$ million)
1. Royal Dutch Shell	Netherlands/Britain 6,022
2. Unilever	Britain/Netherlands 4,136
3. National Coal Board	Britain 2,490
4. B.P.	Britain 2,011
5. Nestlé	Switzerland 1,829
6. I.C.I.	Britain 1,631
7. Volkswagen	Germany 1,596
8. Philips	Netherlands 1,529
9. Siemens	Germany 1,380
10. Fiat	Italy 1,352
11. Daimler-Benz	Germany 1,176
12. Krupp	Germany 1,040
13. Thyssen-Hütte	Germany 1,020
14. Bayer	Germany 1,004
15. Rhône-Poulenc	France 992
16. Hitachi	Japan 958
17. Hawker-Siddeley	Britain 918
18. Mannesmann	Germany 915
19. British-American Tobacco	Britain 882
20. British Motor Corp.	Britain 871

An analysis of all the two hundred firms shows that 54 of them were British or had British connections; 36 were German; 31 were Japanese; and 27 were French. More than anything else, perhaps, it shows how Japan has risen to the top rank of the modern capitalist powers.

S. H.

The passing show

The beginning of September and H.M.S. Hampshire, guided missile destroyer, lies at anchor just off Torquay. A day or two later, she is joined by several more warships of the home fleet. If you like, you can have a boat trip around the grey monsters and view—at a distance, of course—their wicked death dealing paraphernalia.

These ships have just finished exercises off the South West Coast. They are a timely reminder of the constant development under capitalism of more and more horrifying weapons; for these are just about the last word in modern fighting craft, although they will probably be out of date in a few years' time. Capitalist politicians may prattle about efforts for peace, disarmament, test ban treaties and the like, but sincerity has never been their strong point. Anyway, sincerity will not remove the conflicting interests of private property which make armaments necessary. So Lord Hailsham signs a treaty in Moscow, and almost in the same breath, the government announces that another warship is to be built—this time an aircraft carrier costing around £50 millions.

Militant Bank Managers

Whatever next! There were enough disdainfully raised eyebrows and tongue cluckings when the teachers struck for one day last year. But now the bank managers, of all people! The *Daily Herald* of September 7th tells us of the first of a series of weekend strikes by these men and their staffs, employed by the Manchester and Salford Trustee Savings Bank. Apparently it's a very gentlemanly affair with courteous picketing outside the branches by none other than the managers themselves.

But strip away the niceties of etiquette and what is the strike over? Why, the same old thing, of course—pay and conditions. The bank staffs are pressing for "proper negotiating machinery" and have reached the end of their tether waiting for a move from their employers. "... even gentlemen get their backs up occasionally," commented one bank man, bitterly.

It is certainly interesting, this show of militancy among "professional" workers. And at the risk of being called priggish, it does go to support something we have always said. Arbitration courts and joint councils may be all very well up to a point, but it is the strike (or the positive threat of it) which gingers up the negotia-

tions. In fact, it is the only weapon which workers have in their struggle with the employers, although it cannot be used indiscriminately, of course. This hard truth has begun to dawn on some of the bank employees, and they are a living denial of the claim sometimes heard nowadays that the strike weapon is out of date. It will never be out of date as long as we have capitalism.

Auto-intoxication

Roaring and stinking its way merrily across the length and breadth of the land goes the motor car. It pours from the production lines to swell the enormous tide of tinplate on the already overcrowded roads. In attempts to cope with its insatiable appetite, workers' backyards are sliced in half as motorways are pushed through with ruthless urgency. And up, up, up, mounts the toll of death and injury in its wake. No wonder Dr. Bergen Evans wrote a long and bitter denunciation of it eight years ago in *The Spook of Spooks*.

But it is not only Dr. Evans who is concerned at the encroachment of the motor car. Brickbats have been thrown at Transport Minister Marples over his plan for "pedestrian control" experiments in selected areas. "The Marples Matchsticks" it was contemptuously labelled by the *Daily Mail*, after the illuminated robot who will show you how to walk across the road when the way is clear. Failure to observe the rules may cost you a £20 fine and the *Mail* is very piqued at the whittling away of pedestrians' rights which this will involve.

Now the motor car is no longer a luxury. Indeed, it is an essential to many workers in holding down their jobs. More than eight million are on the roads and the number is expected to go on increasing. So the car manufacturers have done nicely out of it, although no one will expect British Railways to be very pleased. Neither will some of the shop owners, who will no doubt echo the *Mail's* sentiments, because growing pressure against pedestrians might well discourage sales. This has in fact happened in some of the streets recently restricted to one-way traffic.

There is nothing very straightforward about the traffic problem, because it is surrounded by all sorts of interests tugging all ways, a familiar enough feature under capitalism. It exists, too, against

MEETINGS

GLASGOW MEETINGS

Woodside Public Halls, Glenfarg Street.

Sundays at 7.30 pm

October 6th

WHY I LEFT THE LABOUR PARTY

Speaker: V. Vanni.

October 13th

THE RIGHT TO BE LAZY

Speaker: A. Shaw.

October 20th

IS MARXISM OUTDATED?

Speaker: J. Higgins

October 27th

THE CASE FOR CAPITALISM

Speaker: R. Russell

GLASGOW ECONOMIC CLASS

Every Wednesday 8 pm in Branch rooms 163a Berkeley Street

GLASGOW DISCUSSIONS

Every Friday at 8 pm in Branch rooms 163a Berkeley Street

LEWISHAM MEETINGS

Co-op Rooms, Davenport Road
Rushey Green, Catford, SE6
Every Monday at 8 pm

October 7th

INTRODUCING THE SPGB

Speaker: E. Hardy

October 14th

FAILURE OF LABOURISM

Speaker: Coffey

October 21st

TORY GOVERNMENT

Speaker: L. Cox

October 28th

THE LIBERAL IMAGE

Speaker: M. Judd

the background of speed and yet more speed. For as any Socialist knows, the time factor is all important in capitalist production and colours all our outlooks. And when looked at from this angle, Socialism would be worth establishing if only just to let us slow down and take a breather.

E. T. C.

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. B. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London E.C.1

The "Irish Press" and the "SS"

Recently the Executive Committee of the World Socialist Party of Ireland decided to launch an advertising campaign on behalf of the *Socialist Standard*. As we are restricted by finances, we decided to use small advertisements on a wide scale rather than larger advertisements in a few newspapers. In keeping with this decision the General Secretary of the Party sent a small advertisement (offering free specimen copies of the *Standard*) to the Irish Press, Ltd., for publication in their morning daily.

A short time later a letter was received from the advertising manager of the *Irish Press* stating that before publication of the advertisement they would need to peruse a copy of the *Socialist Standard* as well as being advised about its distributive outlets in the Republic of Ireland.

The request was unusual in our experience and the tone of the letter indicated that the senders, were in something of a dilemma. Viciously opposed to advertising anything that might pierce the fog of ignorance spread by the *Press* in the Republic, they were by virtue of their attacks on the Unionist Press in the North, like occupants of a glass house, unwilling to become involved in throwing stones. Obviously they hoped to avoid the need for an outright refusal on a "technical" issue.

But it was not to be. Our General Secretary sent them a copy of the Housing issue of the *Socialist Standard*, as well as the additional information requested. Doubtless the news-chiefs of the *Press*, who feed a steady diet of political rubbish to the Irish working class, went painstakingly through the columns of the *Standard*. No pornography, no four-letter words, were found; no cosy excuse for denying the W.S.P.I. the same right to advertise as is extended to the other political organisations in Ireland.

But the slum property of Irish landlords was falling in on its hapless inhabitants causing death and destruction. The *Press*, along with the other newspapers, carried the stories of tragedy; the *Socialist Standard* revealed the brutal hand of capitalism in the misery of slumdom. The *Press*, as pious upholders of Irish capitalism, could not afford to advertise an indictment of the system from which it draws its revenue.

Accordingly, some fourteen days later, our General Secretary received an almost-pleading letter in which the advertising manager of the *Press* said: "... we

would ask you to excuse us from publishing your advertisement just at the moment".

It seemed almost sadistic to prolong the embarrassment of the newspaper set up by De Valera and his cohorts in 1926 to "promote the ideals of freedom". However, our General Secretary tried again; he requested publication of an advertisement merely stating the fact of our political existence and the address of our Head Office, but this again was refused—with the hypocritical assurance that the publishers of the *Press* had nothing against our organisation!

All this from the paper that prattles about freedom and denounces the Unionist Press in N. Ireland for discriminating against the nationalist minority. There is nothing to commend the editorial policies of the Unionist newspapers; we would be less than honest however, if we failed to admit that usually we are given fair representation in their columns, and we have never had an advertisement questioned or refused by the most rabid of the Unionist papers. This in an area represented by Irish Press Newspapers as an armed concentration camp where minorities are ruthlessly silenced.

The *Socialist Standard* will be pleased to publish any statement by the *Irish Press* setting out the reasons for refusing to accept our advertising. Surely the "great men in the struggle for freedom" who grace its columns and its Board of Directors have sufficient courage to come into the open and defend the attitudes of their paper. Or has absolute power corrupted absolutely?

R. MONTAGUE.

INTER-BRANCH MEETING

West London
Bloomsbury
Paddington
present

ANY QUESTIONS?

Friday, 18th October 8 pm
Westcott Lodge, Lower Hall
Hammersmith, W6

BETHNAL GREEN

Town Hall, Cambridge Heath, E.2
Wednesday, October 9th, 8 pm

WHAT NEXT?

TORY OR LABOUR GOVERNMENT
Speaker: C. May

WEMBLEY

Barham Old Court, Barham Park
Harrow Road, Wembley
Monday, 14th October, 8 pm

THE PROBLEMS OF OLD AGE

Speaker: E. Critchfield

WEST LONDON

Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall, Hammersmith, W6
Fridays at 8 pm

October 11th

AMERICA AS I SAW IT

Speaker: N. Brodie

October 18th

Inter-Branch meeting

ANY QUESTIONS?

November 1st

MARXIAN ECONOMICS

Speaker: E. Hardy

November 15th

MY VISIT TO INDIA

Speaker: C. Michael

BROMLEY

Lecture Room, Bromley Public Library, High Street.
Wednesday, 30th October, 7.45 pm
WHO NEXT: TORY OR LABOUR?

PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE

Royal Oak, York Street, W1
Wednesdays, 8.30 pm

October 9th

MY VISIT TO AMERICA

Speaker: E. Grant

October 16th

THE GENERAL STRIKE

Speaker: W. Walters

October 23rd

AFTER THE CONFERENCES?

Speaker: G. Arthur

October 30th

MARX AND ENGELS

Speaker: Gilmac

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays:

Hyde Park, 3.30 and 6.30 pm
Beresford Square, Woolwich, 8 pm
East Street, Walworth

Mondays: Lincolns Inn Fields 1-2 pm

Wednesdays: Outside Charing Cross Underground Station, Villiers Street, 7.30 p.m.

Thursdays:

Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm

The tragedy of Dresden

no need to go and see the latest horror film. You can get all the horror you want if you sit back and read *The Destruction of Dresden*, by David Irving (Kimber, 36s.). It has taken Mr. Irving three years of patient research to produce these two hundred and fifty pages of cold, blood-curdling facts. It is a ghastly story of scientifically planned and ruthlessly executed death and destruction, rained on a historic German city in February, 1945.

Dresden was not, of course, the first town in the Nazi Reich to feel the weight of the R.A.F. bomber offensive. Such had been the extent of the fires started at Hamburg, for example, that a vast area had become a raging inferno in which nearly fifty thousand people perished. This was the first experiment of the "fire storm"—a phenomenon which was to be repeated at Dresden with devilish refinement and which was, to cause no less than *one hundred and thirty-five thousand deaths* in that ill-fated Saxon capital.

The decision to inflict a crushing blow of unprecedented size on a selected target was the brain child of Prime Minister Churchill. He had been concerned for some time to impress the Russian government with the terrible might of Allied air power in Europe, although it is doubtful whether this was to assist the rapidly ad-

vancing Soviet armies, or as warning and a possible bargaining weapon in case they went too far. There is, after all, some evidence that the Western Allies were already falling out with the Russians.

So the triple blow was mounted by well over two thousand British and American bombers. The choice of Dresden was quite deliberate, although it meant more than nine hours flying for the air crew and its fall to the Russians was imminent. For all practical purposes also, Dresden was undefended, most of the ack-ack guns and fighter planes having been rushed to the front some time before. But crammed with over half a million refugees and with its population swollen to about three times pre-war, here was a juicy and obvious target indeed. Practically the whole weight of the attack was laid on the residential area, and the resulting fires raged for seven days and eight nights.

David Irving's book is a timely reminder of the essential inhumanity of war, of how it degrades and brutalises all who participate—of whom the bomber crews are only a few. Intimately linked with Allied bombing policy were the macabre experiments conducted by British scientists earlier on. What was the lethal explosive power for humans? How many Germans might we hope to

kill per ton of bombs dropped? How many more can we render homeless? Professors Blackett, Lindemann, Zuckerman and others supplied their answers to these grizzly questions. Just listen to Professor Lindemann at the end of March, 1942:—

Each bomber will in its lifetime drop about forty tons of bombs. If these are dropped on built-up areas, they will make about 4,000 to 8,000 people homeless.

Nor was Sir Archibald Sinclair the only liar to emerge in a period when deception was raised to a virtue. Many of the bomber crews who pounded Dresden and other places were not aware of the precise nature of their targets until they were actually commencing their bombing runs. In the Dresden affair their briefing officers told a variety of lies to conceal the true nature of the attack. Few of the crews knew of the refugees and prisoners of war there, even though the Allied governments had this information.

The story of the Dresden massacre is a terrible indictment of war. But more than this, it is an indictment of capitalism. For what defence can there be of a society which pits man against himself and turns whole cities into vast crematoria?

E. T. C.

SOCIALISM OR LABOUR GOVERNMENT

Speakers
R. Critchfield
E. Hardy

8pm Monday October 21
HAMPSTEAD TOWN HALL

Haverstock Hill,
NW3. opposite
Belsize Park Tube.

Official Journal
of the Socialist
Party of Great
Britain and the
World Socialist
Party of Ireland

Socialist Standard



Now that the fight is over and Douglas-Home has emerged as the Tory's new leader, we may expect frantic efforts to paper the cracks and present a single face to the electorate, in much the same way that their Labour rivals have done since Wilson took over. It doesn't really matter who has got the Conservative leadership. For the capitalist class it will be business as usual. For the working class exploitation as usual.

AS A new tory leader
USUAL page 167

also in this number

November 1963

- 168 The Labour Party at Scarborough
- 174 Memories of a lovely war
- 172 Profit before human need

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Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1) That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2) That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3) That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4) That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5) That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6) That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7) That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8) The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

SPGB Branches

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY Thursdays 7th and 21st, Nov. 7.20 pm. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm: 1st Nov. at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel. 8EX 1950) and 15th Oct. at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel. KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING, See WEST LONDON

GLASGOW Every Monday 8 pm, 163a Berkeley Street. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

HACKNEY 2nd and 4th Wednesdays in month 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, NS.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

LEWISHAM Wednesdays 6th and 20th Nov. 8 pm Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, 2 Davenport Road, SE6.

SPGB Groups

BRIGHTON 3rd Friday in month, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

BROMLEY For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

EARLS COURT & DISTRICT Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns, SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

MID HERTS Thursday No. 7th 7.30 pm Room 3, The Community Centre, Mill Green Road, Welwyn Garden City. Correspondence: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield, Herts. (Phone Hatfield 4802).

WSPI Branches

BELFAST Tuesdays 8 pm, 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

DUBLIN Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 5 Seville Terrace, North Strand, Dublin 1.

ARMAGH Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 20 Druids Villas, Armagh City, Co. Armagh.

NOTTINGHAM 2nd Wednesday in month (13th Nov.) 8pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street, Carrington, Nottingham.

PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX 2nd and 4th Monday in month (11th and 25th Nov.) 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: A. Partner 28 Hambro Hill, Rayleigh.

SWANSEA 1st and 3rd Monday (4th and 18th Nov.) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W.5

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (14th and 28th Nov.) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane, Romford, Essex.

WEST LONDON Fridays 8 pm, Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall, Hammersmith (facing river few minutes from Broadway). Correspondence: B. Warrack, 158 Whitton Avenue East, Greenford, Middx.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 8.30 pm, 18 Ribblesdale Road, N8 (opposite Hornsey Railway Station - nearest Tube, Turnpike Lane) Correspondence to secretary at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (8th and 22nd Nov.) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens Eltham, SE9.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: M. Hopwood, St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale. Nr Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Enquiries: T. Lord 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, c/o University Hall of Residence, Neuadd Gilbertson Blackpill, Swansea.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

SPECIAL NUMBER SOCIALIST STANDARD JANUARY 1964

Where are you going?

November 1963 Vol 59 No 711

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of Great Britain and the World
Socialist Party of Ireland



SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 pm.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings, etc., for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets 4th Sunday of each month at the Head Office, 5 Granville Buildings, 53 High Street, Belfast 1, at 3.30 pm. Next meeting November 24th.

The News in Review

POLITICS: Labour at Scarborough. 168

AT HOME 168

The Denning Report, Fall Out
Morals at Benenden

ABROAD 169

Ben Bella takes over, Surplus in
the States, Oil in the Congo

BUSINESS 170

About the Chunnel, The Kitchen Front

DEATH IN THE MINES 171

PROFIT BEFORE HUMAN NEEDS. 172

MILK-AND-WATER REFORMISM. 173

MEMORIES OF A LOVELY WAR. 174

FORCED LABOUR IN RUSSIA . . 175

THE PASSING SHOW 176

FINANCE & INDUSTRY 177

BRANCH NEWS & MEETINGS . . 178

MARX & THE SUNDAY TIMES . 179

INCOME TAX & WAGES 180

A NEW TORY LEADER

Business as usual

In the last few months, the Tory Party has been rent by internal squabbles and has staggered from one crisis to another, culminating in the Profumo affair. No longer the arrogantly confident party who won the 1959 election, it was perhaps inevitable that they (or at least some of them) would throw some pretty hefty brickbats at Mr. Macmillan, and make strong demands for his resignation. Nevertheless, it did seem that he had weathered the immediate storm and would survive long enough at least to lead the Conservatives at the next general election.

His sudden illness on the eve of the Tory conference changed all that. Within a matter of hours it was known that his resignation was imminent, and almost as quickly the flimsy facade of unity was whipped away and the undignified scramble between the contenders for his position was there for all to see. According to most pressmen present, the conference was gripped with near-hysteria when it was known that the leadership was vacant. Four candidates were in the lists straight away—Butler, Hailsham, Home and Maudling—and touting for support began. Undignified indeed; as bad in that respect as the Labour Party ever was.

Now that the fight is over and Douglas Home has emerged as the Tories' new leader, we may expect frantic efforts to paper over the cracks and present a single face to the electorate, in much the same way that their Labour rivals have done since Wilson took over. When the next election comes it will at least be interesting to see which of them is the more successful in keeping the cracks covered.

And while comparing the two parties, it has been said that the Tory method of choosing a leader is less democratic than Labour's. Be that as it may the thing which matters to both organisations is that the new man will be a sure vote catcher at the next poll, one who can convince working class voters that his party can solve their problems for them. He is the one who will get the rank-and-file support, never mind for the time being the method of appointing him. Here it is that the new Tory leader will not differ very much from his predecessor. Like Macmillan he will tell us that his party will cure our social ills. And just like under Macmillan they will fail to do so.

Does it really matter, then, who has got the Conservative leadership laurel now? There was certainly plenty of furore and speculation both in and out of the Tory Party at the time, and we were constantly reminded of this man's qualities as against that man's faults. But we seem to remember that "bright boys" have held the reins in the past, and the ills of capitalism have still been there when they were gone. So we will answer our own question. No, it doesn't really matter very much. For the Capitalist Class it will be business as usual, for the Working class exploitation as usual.

CORRECTION

We must apologise to our readers for a mix-up of paragraphs in last month's "Standard". In the editorial "What difference is there" on page 152, the two quotations set in smaller type were incorrectly placed making nonsense of the contents.

The first quote "It seems that . . . our

age" should have been in the place of the second quote. While the second quote "This would indeed . . . but in government itself" should have followed the next paragraph, after the sentence; "What he fears is a Labour government which proves a failure".

THE NEWS IN REVIEW

POLITICS

Labour at Scarborough

The last time the Labour Party went to Scarborough for its Annual Conference, the unilateralists won the day and the delegates went home amid the bitter recriminations provoked by Gaitskell's promise to fight, fight and fight again.

This year, under Wilson's surer, craftier hand, Labour has had a happier time of it. According to the *Daily Telegraph*, the party leadership regard their 1963 Conference as exhilarating. A more accurate word for it would be nauseating.

Because, apart from anything else which was evident at the Conference, the Labour Party has so obviously dropped almost everything that it ever stood for. Nationalisation of the land has been quietly replaced under the carpet, until some other member who mistakenly thinks that he belongs to a party of principle brings it out again. A Labour government will keep the public schools in existence—not an unexpected decision, especially as so many of the Labour leadership went to such schools themselves. The earnings rule for old age pensioners, which cuts their pension if they earn a bit of money on the side, is to stay in force; after all, no government could ever be accused of wanting to make the life of a retired worker too easy. Wage restraint will be

the policy of a Labour government, dignified now by the new Frank Cousins euphemism of a "planned growth of wages."

Now the Labour Party, even in the days when it stood openly and proudly for wholesale nationalisation, abolition of the Monarchy, higher wages and all sorts of other pet Left Wing schemes, was not a Socialist Party, for the simple reason that none of these things have anything to do with Socialism. But at least in those days they seemed to stand for something a little different from their opponents and in that belief many people joined the party and worked for what they thought was going to be a brave new world.

And now? The Labour Party today stands for only one thing: to win as many votes as possible. All their policies, all their statements, even the contributions at the Conference, were overshadowed by the coming election which they hope so confidently to win. Any hint of a quarrel which would have made copy for the Tory press was squashed. (Wilson is a master at sorting out these disputes without a public row, yet getting what he wants.) Some subjects, like foreign policy, were not allowed on the agenda because they had caused such an uproar in past years. The Conference did its best to avoid any mention of the Denning Report, with its

undertones of "immoral Toryism"; only that dreadful fellow Ted Hill was uncouth enough to break this rule.

The big scheme to provide more scientists, and more opportunities for their work, is regarded as a potential vote winner. Writing in *The Guardian* on October 4th, Richard Crossman told how Wilson had first mentioned the matter to him, just after Gaitskell had died:

"I know that most of them (the scientists) voted for us in 1945," I said, "but by 1959 four fifths of them had become anti-working class and anti-Labour." "Well, the only way to win them back is to make Labour the party of science..." (said Wilson).

This is the end of an inevitable process, foreseen by Socialists when the Labour Party first came into existence. A party which aims for power within capitalism must appeal to the ignorance of the working class whom it wants to vote for it. And the end of that is a shameless chasing after votes, with every pronouncement intended as a lasso to rope in the floating voter.

Today, more obviously than ever, the Labour Party is an alternative administration for British capitalism. It is, in fact, another Conservative Party, even if it is one which is trying to shake off the uncomfortable memories of a history strewn with discredited theories and what passed at one time for political principles.



AT HOME

The Denning Report

Lord Denning's famous report must have been a bitter disappointment to those workers who had looked forward to brightening their dull lives with a judicially worded account of which minister had been sleeping with which model and using whose car to run her about in. Even the bizarre figure of the naked waiter had the sting taken out of him by the simple fact that Denning interviewed the man. This may be the end of the Profumo affair. No more is the press obviously seething with suppressed rumours, as it was last spring. The *Daily Mirror* hastily dropped the matter, in favour of

pointing up the new Labour image as an energetic, forward looking party of the scientific future.

Before the scandal finally dies, then, perhaps we may be allowed our say. Profumo's supposed sin was that he lied to the House of Commons; but if every politician who had done that were forced to apply for the Chiltern Hundreds... Capitalism is full of lies; it cannot, indeed, exist without its representatives continually trying to mislead people, sometimes under the excuse of military security, sometimes on the grounds of commercial interests, sometimes not even on these justifications.

And the morals of capitalist politicians should not be a concern of the working

class. There have been plenty of "moral" political leaders, as well as many who have led a more interesting, if more complicated, private life. They have all administered capitalism in roughly the same way, which is never pleasant for the people who work, and vote, for capitalism.

The real scandal is that millions of people are exploited, degraded and suppressed by capitalism yet continue to support it. Beside that monstrous fact, Profumo and the seamy world in which he moved is put into its proper historical insignificance.

THE NEWS IN REVIEW

Fall Out

While we are on the subject of lies, we should comment on one of the most recent examples of capitalism's trying to mislead us.

For years, we have been assured by the politicians and by the military men that fall out from bomb tests was nothing to get worried about. Only the neurotic, they said, would get worked up over the latest multi-megaton blast off and such people, after all, are not the stiff-backed, firm-jawed specimens that a military nation needs. (Some of this propaganda was almost like Feiffer's famous cartoon in *The Observer* some years ago, which had the government stick up massive posters which told the population that Black Spots Are Good For You.)

Now some of the facts about the recent levels of fall out are coming to light and they are enough to make the most placid person sit up and take notice. The latest annual report of the Radiobiological Laboratory of the Agricultural Research Council tells us that 1962 was the worst year on record for fall out. The level of the deadly strontium in our diet was higher last year than at any time since detailed records were first opened in 1958. For 1963 the picture promises to be even blacker.

Sir John Cockcroft, who was once the Director of the Atomic Research Estab-

lishment at Harwell, has revealed that at least once during the last two years consideration had to be given to stopping the supply of fresh milk to children, because of the fears about the high radioactive contamination of it. And there were other indications of the threat to life which the atomic age means to us.

The fact that the official lies about fall out have been nailed will not, of course, prevent similar lies being told in the future. Nor, if the past is any guide, does it mean that the working class will indignantly reject the lies and all that goes with them. Nevertheless, we shall continue to point out that capitalism lives by its terror and its destructive forces and that it bolsters these up with lies. Yet it claims to be a "moral" system of society, in which truth and honesty are respected. Perhaps that is its biggest lie of all.

Morals at Benenden

No hint of immorality, at least of one kind, down at Benenden School in Kent, where Princess Anne is continuing to learn how to be an upper-crust young lady.

Going down to the local church of a Sunday, the princess heard the vicar tell her:

Don't be obsessed with sex, the newspapers, radio etc., can deal with nothing

else. Forget it, it is only a trifle compared with the search for the Kingdom... Some of you girls may one day find yourselves working in a big office and you will find it an awful rat race... Do not be involved in this sort of thing... You should not worry about it... It is no good trying to "keep up" for the sake of "keeping up".

Nice sentiments—for the Benenden girls, at any rate. They are rich enough to be able to avoid the nastier economic consequences of sexual promiscuity, anyway. Those consequences are reserved for the working class. So is the worry about the results of more "acceptable" sexual activity, which often lands a working class man and wife with a child which they cannot afford and therefore do not welcome. The ruling class avoid these problems for the simple reason that they have enough money to do so. For them, sex, in any shape or form, may easily be a trifle.

Did the princess and her chums have a good giggle at the bit about ending up in the rat race in a big office? This again is something reserved for the daughters of the working class. They are the people who get involved in "that sort of thing," they are the people who try to "keep up," they are the people who do the worrying about whether they are making the grade.

The text of the sermon was "Do not worry, put your trust in God." And, of course, in the dividend cheques.

ABROAD

Ben Bella takes over

Ben Bella, President of the Algerian Republic, has now taken over full dictatorial powers and has had these confirmed by an extraordinary session of the Algerian National Assembly.

This has followed an internal struggle in the Algerian government, in which Ben Bella has ousted his rivals one by one and has gradually strengthened his hold on the country in the process.

There are a number of ironies in this situation.

The "full powers" which the Assembly gave to Ben Bella are not clear in their scope. This was a dodge frequently re-

sorted to by French governments in the days of the Fourth Republic. Such measures usually meant some attack upon whatever democracy existed in France at the time. In the war in which the F.L.N. was then engaged against the French government, the Algerian Nationalists used the promise of liberty freely in their propaganda. Anyone who has learned anything of recent history will not be surprised to hear that one of the first casualties of the successful nationalist revolution is the democracy which they claimed to be fighting for.

It is ironical, too, that Ben Bella should have resorted to a measure which his opponents of yesterday found so useful. The French government used every trick in the game in the war against the F.L.N.

and the Algerian propagandists were not slow to make capital out of the fact. Are they silent, now that their leader has shown that he is willing to learn from everyone—even his former enemies?

And what about those Algerians who fought so long and so bloodily against French rule? Are they satisfied, now that one form of oppression has been replaced by another? And those do-gooders who are forever seeking out nationalist movements, preferably on the African continent, to support? Will they realise that such movements seek only to impose an indigenous capitalist class upon a country and that in the end this can turn out as bad, or worse, for the people of that country as the foreign rule they were persuaded to take arms against?

THE NEWS IN REVIEW

Surplus in the States

In America they are still battling with the problem of their surplus grain. Some of it they have given away (under strictly controlled conditions, of course), some of it they have stored in ships and in silos. Some of it has never been grown, by the simple process of paying farmers not to cultivate their land. But the stuff keeps piling up; there is now about 1,200 million bushels of it.

The latest solution to be offered to this problem has come from two United States Senators. They want the grain burnt for conversion into alcohol, backed up by legislation to ensure that all petrol sold in the States contains a certain percentage of the grain alcohol.

This is at least something of a variation on the old idea of simply burning the stuff, which was so popular in the Thirties. Ironically, one of the Senators has pointed out that the conversion idea was put forward then, but was killed by the oil companies, who did not want anyone muscling in on their markets. Nobody cared that there were millions of unemployed, in America and elsewhere, who would rather have seen the grain turned into food which they could get their hands on. It was a more economical idea to burn it.

In the same way, it is now more economical to store the grain than to upset the world market by releasing the stuff so that it can help to relieve the monstrous problem of malnutrition and

hunger which afflicts so large a part of the world's population.

In humane terms, the problem is simpler. It would be a matter of moving the grain from one part of the world, where there was a surplus, to another part, where there was a shortage. A sane social system would do just that. But capitalism has to satisfy its profit motive before anything else and that leads it to all manner of tortuous shadow wrestling rather than tackle a problem direct.

If the Americans choose to burn their grain to make petrol for their cars instead of to feed the world's hungry (there is, of course, no shortage of petrol in the States anyway!), they may seem to some people to be guilty of a reckless waste of the world's resources. But by the standards which capitalism imposes on these things they will be doing something like the right thing.

Oil in the Congo

The Italian State Oil Company, ENI, has obtained a virtual monopoly of oil refining in the Belgian Congo. The foundation stone of their refinery, at Moanda on the Congo estuary, has been laid and building has started.

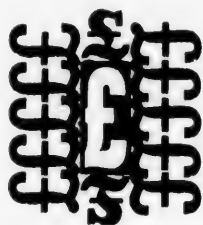
This has come after a certain amount of dirty work behind the scenes. A four country consortium, consisting of British and Dutch (Shell) U.S.A. (Texaco and Mobil) and Belgian (Petrocongo) interests, was bidding for a contract to build another refinery on the estuary, at a cost lower than the Italians are charging.

It has now been revealed, after months of delaying tactics by the Congo government, that ENI had the thing sewn up a long time ago by a secret clause in the agreement which they signed with the government.

The consortium are annoyed about this. But, as the history of the Middle East has shown, oil companies could hardly exist profitably unless they signed secret agreements with foreign governments and did not pull an occasional double cross on their opponents.

Another squeal from the consortium was that the decision to let the Italians build amounted to granting a monopoly of oil refining in the Congo. Yet the four companies can hardly complain on this score, for what else was their consortium but an attempt to eliminate competitive bidding for the refining rights? And if the consortium had won a contract which excluded other oil companies, would they have then complained about monopolies? On the contrary, they would have put their public relations men to work, to point out the supposed benefits which their monopoly brought to everyone.

At such times, it is common for capitalist concerns to talk about the "rights" and the "wrongs" of a situation. But really capitalism knows not such concepts; "profitable" and "non-profitable" are its standards of judgment. When companies try to introduce their own style of morals into the jungle of capitalist interests, which they do when it suits them, they are trying to ride two horses which are travelling in exactly opposite directions.



elsewhere, they made it plain that their application had been delayed for some time because of the uncertainty over the Tunnel. The conversion of the ships is planned as a temporary measure, to tide BR over the period before a possible Tunnel may be operating. If the Tunnel is not built, the Railways may decide that it will pay them to buy some modern steamers. At the moment, it is not an economic risk for BR to invest in new ships which a Tunnel would make obsolete before they had paid their way. In

THE NEWS IN REVIEW

the meantime, their passengers must continue to suffer the cattle-truck conditions which exist during the holiday season on the older cross-Channel steamers.

British Railways cannot be blamed for trying to conform to capitalism's order of priority. This is common to all manner of businesses. It certainly applies to the Tunnel. The working group, after all, preferred a Tunnel because a bridge would cost twice as much and would be less likely to bring a "reasonable economic return" while a Tunnel would "show an overall net profit."

The Kitchen Front

One of the hottest commercial wars in this country at the moment is raging over who is going to sell the housewife a washing machine and whether she will buy it at a shop or on her doorstep.

On one side is young, brash Mr. John Bloom, who has presided over the growth of his company from a dying safety razor firm into a £9½ million boom baby which now commands twenty-five per cent. of the home market in washing machines. Mr. Bloom has thrived on the direct selling technique, with its "cut out the

middle man" line of sales talk.

On the other side are the giants of the domestic electrical industry, among them Hoover Limited, a £24 million company which heads the washing machine league with 28 to 30 per cent. of the home market. Hoover's profits are now climbing out of the relative doldrums of a few years ago, when they declined to some £5 million—this year they should be nearer £12 million. Hoover, and the other firms which deal through the retail trade, condemn direct selling as the dubious gimmick of the parvenu. Hoover are now the respectable aristocrats of the industry, although before the war they were the upstarts, whose door-to-door salesmen earned themselves a reputation for foot-in-the-door malpractices.

Not content with his slice of the English market, Mr. Bloom is now challenging Hoover's dominance in the export field. He has already announced that he is thinking of going into the market in the United States. Rumour has it that he is due to open up in the Far East. And talks have started with the American Studebaker Corporation with the object of setting up a joint company to sell domestic appliances on the Continent.

Some time ago Rolls Razor began to include a vacuum cleaner with every washing machine they sold; two machines, they claimed, for the price of one. With the approach of winter they have replaced the "give away" cleaner with a tangential fan heater. This is a direct slap at Hoover, who only recently brought out their own fan heater, at a retail price of fourteen guineas. Mr. Bloom has said that he feels that this winter may be as bad as last—with his new offer, he probably hopes that it will be as bad.

All this promises to hot up even more, with all the techniques of doubtful publicity brought into play. Whichever company wins this war, it can have little in it for the working class, reverently referred to by the admen as "the housewife" or "the consumer."

They have, after all, gained nothing from the previous battles of this kind. And there have been enough of them; Hoover, for one, has seen off several rivals since the war. But Bloom's Rolls Razor is the most serious threat yet. As the *Sunday Telegraph* put it, Mr. Bloom "... is no stranger to cut-throat competition." Indeed.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD,
November, 1913.

DEATH IN THE MINES

The Lancaster Pit of the Universal Colliery at Senghenydd was again the scene of a fearful explosion, in which 435 of our fellow workers have perished—sacrificed to the greed of that butcher, King Capital. Although on the occasion of the last disaster (1901) in this mine, the coroner's jury found that the mine was not sufficiently watered, and Professor Gallo-way, the Government Inspector of Mines, reported that the necessary precautions in watering the roadways had not been attended to, yet the mine owners allow conditions to prevail that send to their doom 435 miners.

Every time coal dust has caused a mine explosion the warning has been given, but it has passed unheeded. When the toilers were entombed at West Stanley in 1909, the Government investigators reported that "unless the grave danger which exists at many collieries owing to the pressure of coal

dust is attacked with much greater earnestness than it has been in the past, disasters of a similar nature will occur from time to time." At Whitehaven in 1910 the inspector proclaimed that "the precautions against the accumulation of coal dust were of a haphazard and unsystematic character," and he also stated that "the ventilation of the working face was inadequate for the needs of the mine having in view the gassy nature of the coal." Following upon this the same inspector made this sinister statement to a Press Agency representative:

"Practically every risk which exists could be eliminated if cost were no object."

These burning words could be backed up by plenty of other quotations from leading agents of capitalism, but let these suffice. The plain fact emerges from every disaster that

the toilers' lives are sacrificed to dividends and interest. Mines Acts are passed, as that of 1911, with special provisions excluding mines which do not "pay" well from adopting precautions. As for the others, the owners please themselves. The Mines Inspectors are so few, and their powers so meagre, that the regulations are broken with impunity. Last August a fire occurred at the Carron Co's. pit at Cadder, and 22 miners who went down to earn their pittance on Sunday perished. And notwithstanding that the Mines Act of two years previous enjoins every mine to have complete rescue apparatus, the rescue men had to travel forty miles to obtain life-saving apparatus!

[In 1913, the number killed at work was 1,753 out of a total of 1,100,000 miners. In 1962 the number who lost their lives was 256, out of 706,000 employed.]

BUSINESS

About the Chunnel

The recent report of the French and British working group did very little to clear up the confusion over the "Bridge or Tunnel" Channel controversy.

This controversy, of course, has been raging for a long time and whenever there has been a threat of any sort of progress towards a solution, it has always been baulked. The reasons are drearily familiar. Not enough capital available. Not profitable enough. Opposition from other interests which have sunk money into the more established methods of getting across the Channel.

In this way, what may be one of the good ideas of the Twentieth Century has been persistently obstructed. There is nothing remarkable in this—the need to conform to capitalism's profit motive has killed countless schemes in the past, even if some of them have been good ideas from the point of view of human comfort and convenience.

Meanwhile, travellers to the Continent have been affected by the controversy. Last August, when British Railways applied for permission to close its Southampton/Le Havre ferry route, and to convert the ships into car carriers for use

CONSERVATIVE PARTY

Profit before human need

The Conservatives have been in power for twelve years now. Somehow they have managed to create the impression that they are the party of prosperity. A condition for this prosperity, we are told, is national unity. The Conservative Party accordingly claims to stand for the interests of the nation as a whole and calls upon all to rally behind them. Business efficiency and social reform will bring about "One Nation at home"—indeed, it is already supposed to have done this.

But is this true? Is there a classless democracy in Britain today? Can we sensibly talk of "the nation" as a whole? Consider the facts. The economic editor of one of the well-known Sunday newspapers who is certainly not a Socialist has written of "the fantastically unequal distribution of wealth" and has estimated that nearly one-half of the total personal wealth in this country is owned by 2 per cent. of the adult population. This inequality of ownership is at the heart of the capitalist system. The propertied minority who own all the means of living (land, factories, railways, etc.) live off the unpaid labour of the majority, the working class. This is not an old-fashioned dogma. It is a fact—one which the Conservatives are extremely anxious to gloss over with their talk of "national unity" and "One Nation." This is because the Conservative Party is a party of the owners, of the propertied minority who live off the workers. They thus represent the interests of the class to whose interests those of the working class are diametrically opposed.

The Conservative Party also likes to portray itself as the party of the so-called little man, the small farmer, the small shopkeeper and the homeowner. They talk of property-owning and share-owning democracies. Today this claim is challenged by the Liberal Party and with some success as by-election results have shown. More than ever before, the Conservative Party is a party of Big Business, of the giant combines and semi-monopolies. The so-called Beeching Doctrine (the doctrine of efficiency) has become party policy. This policy has been well described by Enoch Powell, the late Minister of Health.

Does it pay? is the question which, quite unashamedly, we have to ask today of all our economic and commercial doings. Does this railway line pay—that coal-mine, this shipping route? Does that industry in that place pay? (*The Observer*, 13/5/62). However, as the *Times* explained almost a year later, the adoption of such a policy is bound, sooner or later, to affect the little man:

Sooner or later, for instance, even Conservative leaders are going to be driven away from agricultural policies that they certainly know are designed to preserve small, under-capitalized farming units which impair rather than encourage efficiency. They will also one day be driven to act, as they would long ago have liked to act, to get rid of price resale arrangements to which thousands of small local shopkeepers cling for protection.

The triumph of the Big Business elements within the Conservative Party may or may not drive the so-called little man into the arms of the Liberals. But one thing is certain. The workers have nothing to gain by supporting drives for efficiency. Capitalism, under which production is only under-

taken in accordance with the principle enunciated by Mr. Powell, has nothing to offer them. Nor, therefore, has the Conservative Party, an avowed party of Capitalism and of production for profit.

We can see well the consequences of production for profit. Basic human needs are neglected because it is not profitable to satisfy them. Housing is a good example. It is more profitable to build office blocks, luxury flats and cathedrals than housing for the workers. Again, production is only carried on if what is produced can be sold at a profit. When this is not the case factories lie idle and unemployment appears. Say, for example, that "industry in that place" doesn't pay? Then it closes down and sacks its workers. Let us take a concrete example. This month the factory of John Webb & Co., brass founders, at Nantyglo in Monmouthshire, is to close down. The valves which the factory produces will in future be made in Birmingham. Explained the company secretary:

It has been decided that production of water and steam fittings produced by the Delta Metal group of companies must be consolidated to enable them to be fully competitive. A number of steps in this direction were taken at other works in the group earlier this year. Competition has continued to increase both in this country and from Germany, Italy and Japan and the time has now come when our production must be streamlined. (*South Wales Argus*, 26/8/63.)

This is what "efficiency" means. To be sure, some of the 200 workers are to be offered jobs in Birmingham. This is what "mobility" means. For in Conservative Party thinking the producers are considered not as people but as productive resources, no different from the machinery and raw materials they use. If a manufacturer finds it more profitable to establish his factory near the coast or to concentrate his production in Birmingham then workers must be prepared to be mobile if they want work. This is everyday experience.

The Conservatives admit that their emphasis on mobility involves hardship for some. They could not very well deny it since this, too, is everyday experience. But, we are assured, these difficulties are necessary evils which we—the workers, not the capitalists, of course—must be prepared to put up with in a "dynamic" economy. And, after all, they are but a small price to pay for "the economy of abundance" which the "proper" allocation of resources brings! This is what efficiency means. For what is efficiency but the ruthless ignoring of human needs to make a profit?

It is difficult to understand how so many of those who suffer most from Capitalism can find reasons to support the Conservative Party which openly proclaims that profit must come before human needs. Clearly the workers have nothing to expect from the Conservatives but what they get—unemployment, bad housing, pay restraint, insecurity and other examples of what the Conservatives call private, family and personal difficulties.

Production for profit, which Mr. Powell praises, does not lead to One Prosperous Nation, but rather to one prosperous capitalist class and to degradation and insecurity for the working class.

A. L. B.

PARLIAMENTARY FUND We intend to contest three constituencies at the next General Election. Our coffers are low, time is short. Send your donation now to SPGB Parliamentary Fund, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

LABOUR PARTY

Milk-and-water Reformism

IF, after this year's Labour Party conference, Peter Sellers makes another "political party" recording, it should be a sell out.

The Labour Party may not have a monopoly of the art of talking a lot and saying nothing, but this is not for want of trying. When it comes to dodging the real issue and substituting platitudes, they hold their own with the best. Feeling confident that the Tories have at last discredited themselves enough to bring the plums of office within their grasp, the Labour Party find it difficult to conceal their jubilation. They are not in the mood at the moment to reflect that they were discredited and kicked out after only six years.

As always with those who set themselves the task of running capitalism, jubilation is inevitably followed by disillusionment. The capitalist class should be pleased that the Labour Party is there in readiness to devote itself so diligently to running the system and defending their interests.

After a prolonged silence on the subject, Wilson has dragged out the word Socialism again—the word, but as usual, not the contents. He says, "we are re-defining and we are restating our Socialism in terms of the scientific revolution." The supremely relevant question of ownership is conveniently dodged. That he envisages a future, where the life of mankind is moulded to the dictates of new monster machines is made abundantly clear. It is also quite clear that class divided society will remain, for he goes on "the Britain that is going to be forged in the white heat of this revolution will be no place for restrictive practices or for outdated methods on either side of industry." The two sides of industry, the exploiters and the exploited, must not try to restrict each other—a sort of light-hearted co-existence is to exist between the robbers and the robbed.

Wilson thinks that the pace and intensity of the capitalist rat-race will greatly increase. But he is determined that Britain shall not only survive but expand; the nationalist minded politicians of Germany, America, Italy, Japan, Russia, etc., are bent on the same thing. This is capitalism.

What Wilson either has not yet learnt, or keeps quiet about, is that rivalry for markets and resources is the commercial war which leads to military wars. To talk of Socialism in this context is ludi-

crous. As the only purpose the Labour Party has is to forge ahead technologically to build trade and win markets, the pursuit of profits must remain the dominant consideration. All their talk of change comes to nothing. While the monetary system lasts there will continue to be rich and poor. Not that money of itself causes riches and poverty, but money is an appendage to the class ownership of the means of production. It therefore accumulates mostly in the pockets of the owning class. This is just as true if the ownership takes the form of government bonds and is directed by the state.

Wilson contradicts himself on the question of state planning for he argues, "The danger, as things are, is that an unregulated private enterprise economy in this country will promote just enough automation to create serious unemployment, but not enough to create a break through in the production barrier." He then goes on to illustrate that private enterprise America is already far advanced with automation. Is he trying to tell us that a small amount of automation will create lots of unemployment, but a lot of automation will create less?

He quite bluntly lays it down that "allowing for the fact that the automotive revolution here will be later and slower, we have to be ready to create 10,000,000 new jobs in Britain by, say, the mid-1970's." In America the figure is calculated to be 40,000,000 new jobs. Clearly this is a world-wide prospect because as Wilson knows, Germany, France, Japan, Italy, etc. will be doing the same things with the same object in view—to corner as much of the world market as possible.

Wilson and his followers, however, are nothing if not versatile. It is not just automation and unemployment for which they have no answer, they have none for any other problem either. Take war. To quote Wilson again:

Advanced capitalist countries are maintaining full employment to-day only by virtue of vast arms orders, and panic would be the order of the day in Wall-street and other stock markets the day peace breaks out.

Here, indeed, is something the labour leader should know all about, since it was the Labour Government which introduced rearmament in this country after the war. But now he proposes to establish a Ministry of Disarmament to help

in undoing the work of the earlier Labour government of 1945 to 51, which the Tories have simply taken over and expanded. What is most tragic of all is that the cheering mass of labourites were blissfully unaware of what a massive indictment of capitalism all this sordid business is.

Although the word revolution was banded about at the conference, there was no sign that the delegates know what it means. Typical of their muddled thinking are their arguments on education. Wilson says, with a brave flourish, "as Socialists we oppose this system of educational apartheid, because we believe in equality of opportunity." He did not say why this system (that is the 11-plus) was carried on for six years by the Labour government if they were opposed to it. A resolution urging the next Labour government to abolish fee-paying schools was overwhelmingly defeated. One speaker for the National Executive did advocate the integration of fee-paying schools into the State system and a resolution to this effect was carried. Nobody explained how this shabby reformism would bring about equality of opportunity.

Whether fee-paying is done privately or through the State, it is obvious that those children whose parents can afford it will pay and those who cannot will have to rub along as best they can. Education under capitalism is bound to reflect the needs of the system. The working class are trained to work and the capitalist class taught to rule. As work becomes more and more scientific and technical, the wage-slaves have to be brought up to scratch to meet the demands of their masters' system. The Labour Party in this, as in everything else, simply respond to the current needs of capitalism, and shape their policies accordingly.

Typical of the milk-and-water reformism of the Labour Party were the statements made on the so-called Health Service. The Health Service was heralded in 1948 as a panacea, a free health system that would wipe out the old inequalities. Here we are, nearly 20 years later, with chairman Anthony Greenwood wanting to reduce the number of private beds in hospitals. He daringly suggested that Labour would "Allow Health Service patients to use pay beds when they were not being used" and "ensure that

continued on page 179

Memories of a lovely war

IN a few month's time we are going to be submerged in an orgiastic flood of journalism to mark the fiftieth anniversary of one of the formative experiences of modern history. Already, hardly a week goes by without some promise of the coming deluge of words. This, in itself, is an indication of the enormous effect which the First World War has had upon the world.

Without wishing to anticipate any of the articles which are going to pour out of Fleet Street we can see, looking back, that 1914 marked a stage in the growing up of modern war. It was a terrifyingly new, different war, which gathered the strands of the wars of the previous fifty years and plaited them into a rope which noosed in millions of people. It flattened and mangled beyond recognition an immense area of the Franco/German frontier. It terrorised civilian populations who, behind the firing lines, had previously thought themselves safe from danger. It subjected its combatants, in the liquid trenches of the Western Front, to agonies of fear and endurance such as they had never conceived of in their worst nightmares.

We can see evidence of the massive death roll of that war, in the poignantly long list of names on the memorials of the tiniest English villages. We can stand before these memorials and picture what life was like there before 1914. And we can imagine what life was like, after the war had purged the world of its dream that its forty-year-old tranquillity was to go on forever. The First World War was, as we have said, one of the formative experiences of modern history. When its bloodshed and horror had stopped rolling backwards and forwards across Europe, those who had eyes to see knew that life could never be the same again.

And what did all this achieve? The soldiers of both sides were promised that they were suffering and sacrificing in a great enterprise to build a better, safer world. But the events which followed 1918 justified those people who, for one reason or another, had maintained that war was futile. 1914-18 solved no problems—it only lined up the world for the next great conflict, which in its turn created the problems over which another world war has so often threatened to break out. What war does, very effectively, is to debase and to brutalise human beings, to encourage the worst aspects of human behaviour, to turn the world into a charnel house in which worthwhile human values are battered down and overridden in the general glorification of violence, lies and prejudice.

These reflections have been provoked by one of the more fatuous of the ceremonies connected with the fiftieth anniversary of 1914. Last September, the Green Howards' Old Comrades Association decided that this year their annual reunion should be something special. They were expecting to get about a hundred of their 1914-18 veterans along and for them, instead of a beer-up and a sing-song in the barracks gym, they wanted a little touch of authentic nostalgia. So they dug out a trench on a piece of waste land in Yorkshire. They lit a brazier fire there. They provided beer and sausages and they put up signs, just like those in the old trenches, which said "Blighty 300 miles, Paris 79." And in that trench, on a Saturday afternoon in late September, the old soldiers of the Green Howards remembered their experiences of fifty years ago.

They made a touching picture, although perhaps not in the way they intended. They all wore their best suits, one or two with watch chains. They drank their beer, of course, out of

bottles—after all, this was the trenches. One of them sat on the parapet and, his leg cocked on the sandbags, played the old favourites on a mouth organ. They sang. Some of them even wore tin hats, to make it more like the real thing. They seemed to enjoy it, if a little self-consciously.

In its way, this was an interesting event. Those old soldiers cannot have forgotten what happened in the real trenches. They cannot have forgotten the mud, the shellfire, the fear and the sudden death. They cannot, either, have been amused by their memories. So why the clowning about? Perhaps their powers of endurance have been working overtime, perhaps that old human ability to make light of the most crushing burdens, to pass off a paralysing experience with a joke, was blanketing the events which are unpleasant to recall. Perhaps they were remembering only the feeling of comradeship, of being in a mess together and helping each other through it.

Or were they remembering their war as a job well done, and taking the credit for their part in it? Was their fun really so harmless?

They were, after all, members of an Old Comrades Association and the object of their exercise, as the military types like to put it, was to open a big campaign to recruit old soldiers of the Green Howards. To the working class at large this is probably unobjectionable enough—perhaps even laudable. Nobody summons up sympathy like an ex-serviceman who is in difficulties; apparently the working class swallowed all that wartime propaganda about a grateful country. That is why they look with such an indulgent, kindly eye upon the Old Comrades. But like most of the popular attitudes which do their bit to keep capitalist society in being, this one is based on a number of glaring fallacies.

Old Comrades' Associations, it is true, do a certain amount to help their members who are in difficulties. An ex-serviceman whose body has been smashed up in a war will often turn to them in desperation for help in putting his case for a pension or some other equally paltry benefit. The fallacy behind this sort of charitable activity is that it is quite useless to support capitalism on one hand while trying to patch up its victims on the other. The Old Comrades' Associations who weep over the hardships of old soldiers at the same time do their best to perpetuate the militaristic attitudes which are so essential to a country's war effort. Is there not a contradiction here? To put it mildly, it is a little too late after a war to feel sorry for the pain and suffering and the wrecked lives which the war inevitably produces.

Patriotism is another of the Old Comrades' pet themes. See them in the parades, proudly wearing their medals, loyally saluting whoever happens to be representing the British ruling class at the march past. Yet patriotism is another enormous fallacy. Apart from the fact that nobody has any right to be proud of something—like nationality—over which he has no control, it is also true that patriotism denies the essential interests of the working class. It splits the British workers from those abroad and in other countries it works in the same way. It ignores the fact that all workers everywhere have the common interest of abolishing capitalism and all its wars and other conflicts. There is indeed little hope for human society as long as it is divided into disputing nations, whose ruling classes are sustained by the fallacious patriotism of their respective working people.

The Old Comrades are recruiting people for the wrong reasons and they are bringing them together to remember the

wrong things. They are part, in fact, of the machinery of war and they do their bit in fostering the illusion that there is something clean and manly in being a soldier and exposing yourself to danger in the protection of your master's interests. (One of the Green Howards Old Comrades knows a lot about exposing himself to danger—he is the most decorated private soldier in the British Army). They are part of the Big Lie that war is glorious and useful.

But war is neither of these things. There is nothing glorious in quick, violent death nor in the reactions of the people who witness it. (Ask any old sweat of 1914-18 how the youngsters fresh into the trenches took their first bombardment.) Nor is there anything glorious in the unhappiness of those who suffer from the absence and the death of those they love. This is how Siegfried Sassoon, in his *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*, saw it in 1916:

... at Waterloo Station I was visibly reminded that going back for the Push was rather rough on one's relations, however incapable they might be of sharing the experience. There were two leave trains and I watched the people coming away after the first one had gone out. Some sauntered away with assumed unconcern; they chatted and smiled. Others hurried past me with a crucified look; I noticed a well-dressed woman biting her gloved fingers; her eyes stared fixedly; she was returning

alone to a silent house on a fine Sunday afternoon.

There was nothing glorious about that woman; grief is one of the most distressing and therefore one of the ugliest of human emotions. And war is grief. Yet of all the tragedies of war, perhaps the greatest is that it need never happen. Although it is true that modern war is a product of capitalist society, it does not follow that war is unavoidable. War can only be carried on—and capitalism can only continue—as long as the working class support it. The people who fight and suffer in wartime—and in peacetime, in a different way—are the very people, the only people, who can do something about it. The supreme irony, the supreme tragedy, is that at present they choose to do nothing. They prefer to dress up in their medals, to look affectionately upon the ex-serviceman and to teach their children to serve their masters as they have done.

The future of human society rests with the world working class. If they want to, they can make a world of peace and happiness, in which men can live in freedom. This is more than a dream; it could so easily become reality. But at present even our dreams are dull, especially if we dream them from the bottom of a mock trench in Yorkshire on a chilly afternoon in late September.

IVAN

FORCED LABOUR CAMPS IN RUSSIA

So there were forced labour camps in Soviet Russia after all. Remember those days during Stalin's reign when this was hotly denied by the servile Communist parties, when even to suggest it was to get yourself called a liar, social fascist, reactionary imperialist, or whatever other term of abuse happened to be fashionable at the time? Well, that's all gone now that Alexander Solzhenitsyn has told his story.

His novel *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* (Gollancz, 18s.), describes the appalling conditions in one such camp, where the prisoners were made to toil over twelve hours a day outdoors despite the sub-zero temperatures of the Siberian winter. Their food rations were utterly inadequate, their clothing pitifully thin and ragged. It was indeed an achievement merely to survive from one day to the next.

This was one of many "special" camps, as they were known, set up by Stalin's Security Chief Beria (who was later executed when Khrushchev rose to power). It was organised for those serving from eight to twenty-five years under the notorious Article 58 of the old Criminal Code, but lucky was the man who served only the sentence originally imposed on him. For the authorities

had a very convenient habit of adding another term quite arbitrarily, just as soon as the first one had expired. And then perhaps there was exile after that, if he was still alive.

There were many "crimes" for which he could be incarcerated. The hero—not really an inappropriate term—is sent for a ten year stretch on a trumped up charge of spying. Solzhenitsyn himself can speak with some authority here, because he spent eight years in a camp in Kazakhstan. His offence? Making remarks derogatory to Stalin.

This story first appeared in the Russian literary journal *Novy Mir* (New World) in November last year, and this in itself is significant of a trend in the Soviet Union since the death of Stalin. There has been a tendency to relax the iron fist somewhat, but although thousands of prisoners have been released and allowed to return home, it seems to be the first time that such writing has been allowed to be published. One might almost call it a tacit official admission of the existence of the labour camps.

But more than that, Khrushchev has striven to destroy the image of Stalin for ever, something he had to do if he was to consolidate his own power and gain support for the economic and political

changes he knew must come. In the light of this, it was not surprising that Solzhenitsyn was allowed to publish his novel, although it was a sensation when it appeared and caused heated discussion and controversy throughout Russia.

Perhaps there will now be other such novels to push the lid a little further off the Soviet cauldron. Who knows, we may even get a glimpse of life in some of the camps which exist now in that unhappy country. Where else, we wonder, would the thousands of youngsters have gone after being torn from their homes and forcibly transported eastwards, following the 1956 Hungarian revolt? The Russian ruling class can be just as ruthless under Khrushchev, when their interests demand.

For the time being though, it is well to read this book and reflect on the horrors which capitalism is capable of inflicting on us. Solzhenitsyn is a promising writer who has a direct and simple, yet telling style, which even in the first few pages gives us a fair picture of the brutality and degradation of camp life. But perhaps the outstanding tragedy is that it has all been perpetrated in the name of Socialism so that, welcome though the truth now is, the job of the real Socialist is just as hard as ever.

E. T. C.

The Passing Show

Faster In The Air...

Have you ever been to London Airport? Quite possibly you have. It's nothing unusual for workers to travel abroad by air nowadays. Perhaps also you have stood on the spectator's platform and watched the hectic scene around you. The piercing whine of the jets and the frequent chatter from the loudspeakers. The all-pervasive sickly smell of fuel oil. The grubby-fisted schoolboy plane spotters, scurrying from one vantage point to another, clutching binoculars, notebooks and the inevitable sweets. Hardly the place for a rest cure.

Even so, it is difficult not to feel awed at the technical achievement of the soaring monsters, or at the size and complexity of the organisation behind them. It is, indeed, an impressive demonstration of man's social capabilities and his power to control and change his environment. Just think! In less than fifty years, he has shown that the world can be spanned in a matter of a few hours.

Of itself, this is not a bad thing. No one can sensibly oppose the prospect of greater contact between people. But taken in the context of a very commercial world, it is not an unmixed blessing. The first consideration of the airlines is to operate profitably, and such is the fierce pace of competition between them that planes with years of service left in them are being scrapped for new ones which will lop chunks off any given journey time. The new jets due shortly for service on short hauls will notch up over 600 miles per hour, and the Anglo-French *Concord* will fly at 1½ times the speed of sound. But its lead will be short-lived, because the planned U.S. air liner will fly twice as fast as sound.

Hard pressed as the airlines are in this frantic scramble, it is not surprising that the vital factors affecting human welfare and safety do not always get the attention they deserve. This is admitted in a *Guardian* article of September 24th by D. Royston Booth. Discussing the questions of airworthiness standards, he says:

Aviation is such a fast growing industry nowadays that there is hardly time to test every component exhaustively before the aircraft is committed to everyday use, and there are many unanswered questions, particularly arising from aircraft behaviour and basic design. Not that B.O.A.C. takes



bigger risks than before . . . but it does mean that when aircraft are developed so quickly assumptions have to be made.

So they are prepared to take a chance with your safety—for it can mean nothing else—because if every conceivable check were made, it would slow them down in the mad race with their competitors, and maybe put them right out of the running altogether. Admittedly, there is a risk in the very act of flying itself and it is difficult to see how it can ever be eliminated entirely. But in any sane set-up no effort would be spared to bring that risk to the minimum before any aircraft left the ground. It is the profit motive which increases the risk of life and limb in this and every other sphere. Remember that when next you board a plane for a hard earned holiday. Happy landings!

Slower On The Ground...

Remember last winter with its weeks of icy winds, and cold that froze you to the marrow? Remember the endless dreary frustrations of frozen pipes, power cuts and transport chaos? Of poor old pensioners dying quietly in their unheated pathetic little lodging house rooms?

Perhaps you will recall, too, the outcry at the inability of the fuel and power industries to cope with the extra demand—a reasonable enough human reaction you will say. The government had an answer—also reasonable enough but from a capitalist point of view. It was pointless, they said, to spend good money on plant which would be needed only about once every ten years, and that was that! You were just to carry on shivering until the weather eased.

Since then, though, the weather men have been suggesting that we might get a repetition of all that again this winter, perhaps worse. One or two town councils have taken the hint and laid in extra snow clearing equipment, but strictly within their financial limits of course. And such is the criterion which is applied in any field we may care to look. The guiding principle is not "do human beings need it?" but "Can we afford it?" . . . "Is it profitable?"

British Railways, for instance, have been making preparations. Some big snow ploughs are being built and some extra points heaters will be installed, but only at key junctions. Actually there are some 100,000 switch points on the railways but only about 2,500 will be heated. Why? Because it would cost about

£10½ millions to do it. A B.R. spokesman added:

Insurance against all weather risks could be achieved only by spending enormous sums of money. Spending on such a scale in the railways' present financial straits could never be justified merely to prevent what may be only an occasional hazard (*Guardian* 3.10.63).

Out of the horse's mouth indeed! But this will probably not stop their prattle about "Service to the public," etc., at some future date, as if their existence was purely for altruistic reasons.

Housing Problem! What Housing Problem?

Are you suffering from a housing problem? Well stop worrying. Just take a ride to Bournemouth, "that elderly army officer among seaside resorts," as the *Guardian* describes it. For there you will probably find plenty of empty flats, between 2,000 and 3,000 according to architects and estate agents in the town, and more are nearing completion. Apparently, property developers have burnt their fingers badly and are fishing around for buyers.

Meantime, the flats stay unoccupied but not because of lack of need. We will take a level bet that there are plenty of people in the Bournemouth area alone, who could do with some better accommodation, but like their brothers and sisters elsewhere they will not get it for one very good reason. . . They haven't enough money. They, of course, will be working people and their dependants, who have to wait perhaps for the allocations of a cheap council house or flat, and we all know how long that will be.

The property developers are not very interested in them because there is not much prospect of profit in building low cost houses for workers—in fact, some building firms refuse to tender for Local Council housing contracts because of this. And this is the point which we have stressed for years, that housing is dominated by the profit motive and human needs come a second best. Some reformists may even recognise this, but seem always to miss the obvious answer, Socialism.

For the record

When Lord Beveridge (Sir William as he was then) first made his national insurance proposals over twenty years ago, they were hailed with a fanfare of the

continued on page 178

FINANCE AND INDUSTRY

What of the Future

After a period in the doldrums the motor industry is booming again. To judge solely by the British press one would imagine the boom was confined to these shores. In fact, the U.K. industry is doing no better than most of its competitors and in some cases is not doing as well. Production, for example, is up by 15 per cent. in Britain so far this year compared with 1962; this is higher than the increase in Germany (14 per cent.), but less than in France (17 per cent.) and in Italy (28 per cent.). Even the recently stagnant U.S. industry has managed to show a rise of about 12 per cent.

The export comparison is even less flattering. U.K. exports in the first six months of this year are up 6 per cent. over 1962; but for France the rise is 18 per cent. and for Germany 21 per cent. Italy, on the other hand, has shown virtually no rise in exports at all and has had to contend in addition with a tremendous increase in imports.

All the big national producers in fact are turning out cars faster than they have ever done before. Total U.S. production is reckoned at over 8 millions for the whole of this year whilst Germany will probably produce about 2½ millions, Britain and France 1½ millions each, and Italy near enough a million. The automobile is fast becoming as crucial to the Western European economies as it has long been to the American. "When Detroit sneezes," it has been said, "America catches a cold"; the same can now be said of Dagenham, Wolfsburg, Billancourt, Turin.

The urge towards more production and bigger sales has become hectic. Every firm in every country strives to keep ahead of its rivals; every national group tries to beat its competitors. New model follows new model with bewildering rapidity; there is new styling; engines go from the back to the front, and from the front to the back; gimmickry of one kind or another has free rein. To keep sales buoyant, it is essential to put something new before the buyers. Once a model like the old Ford 8 or Austin 7, or the Volkswagen, or long Citroën, went on for 15 or 20 years; now it is the exception if a model lasts a third of that time.

Having overwhelmed the small car sector with a vast range of differing models, the car manufacturers of the world are now switching their attention to the medium bracket. British Ford has currently no less than 17 different types in its Consul/Corsair complex in an attempt to cater for every idiosyncrasy on the part

of buyers: other firms, such as Renault, Simca, and Volkswagen, are only just coming into the field with perhaps one or two models, but are geared up nevertheless to turn them off the assembly lines at 500 a day.

Apart from the rivalry between individual firms inside their own countries, competition has spilled over national boundaries. To get a foothold in the French market, British Ford and B.M.C. are selling cars at prices that must be bringing them little if any profit. Renault and Simca are doing the same in the U.K. Since the removal of certain tariff restrictions by Italy, the market there has been invaded by cars from Britain, France, and Germany (Volkswagen alone has taken up 5 per cent. of the market). Germany itself will import about 160,000 cars this year, 12 per cent. of new licences.

But in spite of all this frenzied activity, many firms are worried. Although they are turning out cars in large numbers, the profits are not coming so easily. Competition is intense, and the outlay on new plant, factory extensions, and more and more research, is a heavy burden. Most of the new production has been in small cars and the profit on these is low. The firms with the vast capital resources to cope with this mass production will have the best chance of survival, the others will either be taken over or will amalgamate.

The chief threat will come from American capital; from Ford with its holdings in Britain and Germany, General Motors again in Britain and Germany, and Chrysler in France. Volkswagen is already said to be feeling the pinch from Ford and Opel (General Motors), and Rootes has long suffered the same uncomfortable position in this country. Rumours continue to flourish in Europe about amalgamations of various "family" concerns to counteract American pressure—Fiat in Italy, Mercedes—Auto Union in Germany, Citroën and Peugeot in France. That they all have reason to be afraid is emphasised by a recent calculation made in a European trade paper: General Motors in the U.S. would apparently still have made a profit of almost £300 million if they had given away free the whole of the production from their Opel plant in Germany.

It will be interesting to see for how long the independent European car producers can continue to stand up to the might of the American colossi. In the meantime, they carry on the frenzied



struggle to sell their cars with one eye fixed anxiously on their European rivals and the other looking apprehensively at the United States. No wonder they cannot see where they are going—perhaps its just as well for them.

It's all as planned

When trade booms the politicians dispute with the business men about the responsibility, both claiming the credit. When trade slumps the business men blame the government and the government blames the greedy workers or the wicked foreigners. The truth is that neither business men nor Cabinet Ministers can have much certain knowledge of the future ups and downs of home and foreign trade, or do much to control it: but some are luckier than others.

One widely held belief of our age is that governments can manipulate trade expansion and therefore can know what the future will bring because they control it. Sometimes they appear to be right not because they made it happen but because it was going to happen anyway and in spite of their efforts. An example of this was recently commented on by Paul Bureau in the *Daily Mail* on September 9th. He recalled that earlier in the year the Chancellor of the Exchequer undertook to promote an improvement in trade by running a budgetary deficit. Trade did improve between April and September but without the deficit having happened.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, therefore, budgeted for a current deficit of £90 million, a capital deficit of £597 million, and an overall deficit of £687 million—or ten times the modest and mean figure for 1962-63.

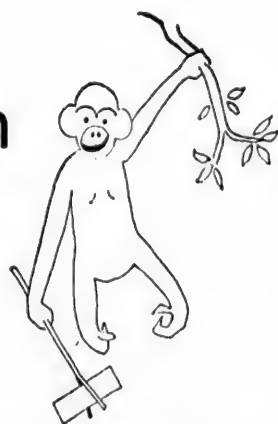
So far, virtually nothing of this worthy intention has been translated into fact. In the first five months of this financial year the current deficit was £28 million larger than in the corresponding period last year, but the capital deficit was £3 million smaller, leaving an almost negligible £25 million change in the overall deficit.

The recovery which has taken place in the economy, therefore, owes virtually nothing to the stimulus that was to be applied through the Budget.

Business men may say that this just shows the limitations of politicians and their theories. But a recent book on the American Ford Company (*The Fate of Edsel*, by John Brooks) recalls a colossal blunder of that company. They went to great expense to give the public just the car they wanted. It was a flop and lost £100 million.

S. H. & H.

Branch News



Seven Days for Socialism Week in Belfast opened on Sunday, September 22nd with an open air meeting in Blitz Square, Belfast and an indoor meeting in the Bakers Hall. Then there was the Wednesday night "Any Questions" at party Head Office; on Saturday a social where local members gathered to meet comrades from Glasgow, London and Dublin. On Sunday, 29th September there was an open air meeting at Customs House Square (one of the best meetings held by the Party for many years, a good collection and Literature sales and visiting speakers at their best). A further indoor meeting was held in the Bakers Hall and special drive for the SOCIALIST STANDARD resulted in 244 sales plus 30 Party pamphlets and over 1,000 back numbers of the SOCIALIST STANDARD. *Western Socialists* were distributed free and 2,000 leaflets. A very good week of activity and Belfast Branch is agreed that a similar week should be held at least once a year. The week showed the

unity of the international Socialist movement with members coming to help from Glasgow, London, Armagh and Dublin. The meeting at the Customs House was the first ever held by the Party at this spot and the result was so good that the Branch is now holding regular meetings there.

Many propaganda activities are arranged for the end of October in London, and Glasgow, and outdoor and indoor meetings are planned by other Branches, including debates, and discussions. It will be too late to report them as we go to press, but it is heartening that so much continual activity is taking place in the Party. Glasgow and Bromley (group) and Lewisham in particular are canvassing and holding meetings in preparation for likely election campaigns. All these activities cost money and it is hoped that readers will not hesitate to send their contributions to E. Lake, the Treasurer at Head Office.

As last year, our team of literature sellers went to the Labour Party Conference at Scarborough, held meetings on the way, and sold 137 SOCIALIST STANDARDS and 90 pamphlets, realising £6 13s.

Several times this year the SOCIALIST STANDARD has been sold out by the end of the month—a good indication that our hope of a 10,000 monthly circulation are within the realms of possibility.

P. H.

The passing show continued from page 176

usual ballyhoo. These proposals, we were told, would abolish poverty once and for all, as if the difference between poverty and riches was just a paltry few shillings a week.

Well, it's an old story now, but whoever did believe it, Lord Beveridge certainly did not. When he died, he left over £20,000. Peanuts by capitalist standards, maybe, but certainly enough to have kept him and his family well above the bread line.

E. T. C.

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays:

Hyde Park 3 pm
Beresford Square, Woolwich 8 pm
East Street, Walworth
November 3rd (11 am)
November 10th (1 pm)
November 17th (noon)
November 24th 11 am

Mondays: Lincolns Inn Fields 1-2 pm

Wednesdays: Outside Charing Cross Tube Station, Villiers Street, 7.30 pm

Thursdays: Tower Hill 12.30-2 pm

essential reading

The Case for Socialism	1/-
Capitalist-Worker-Class Struggle	6d.
50th Anniversary Issue of the Socialist Standard	4d.
Art, Labour and Socialism	1/-
Questions of Today	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism?	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from SPGB,
52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4
POSTAGE 3d. EXTRA

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MEETINGS

ANY QUESTIONS?

Kensington Library Lecture Hall
(rear of Town Hall)
Thursday, 14 November, 7.45 pm

GLASGOW MEETINGS

Woodside Public Halls, Glenfarg St.
Sundays at 7.30 pm

"Social Problems Today"

November 3rd
CRIME, COPS & CAPITALISM
Speaker: I. MacDougall

November 10th
THE HUNGRY SIXTIES
Speaker: J. Fleming

November 17th
HOUSING, HOVELS & HUMBUG

November 24th
UNEMPLOYMENT—ITS CAUSE AND CURE
Speaker: R. Vallar

GLASGOW DISCUSSION CLASS
Every Wednesday, 8 pm in Branch Rooms, 163a Berkeley Street

GLASGOW STUDY CLASS
On the materialist conception of History, every Friday during November at 8 pm in Branch Rooms
Tutor: J. Richmond

HEAD OFFICE MEETINGS
52 Clapham High Street, SW4
Sundays at 7.30 pm
November 3rd, 10th, 17th & 24th.

LEWISHAM MEETINGS
Co-op Rooms, Davenport Road
Rushey Green, Catford, SE6
Every Monday at 8 pm

November 4th
EVOLUTION OF PROPERTY
November 11th
ORIGIN & ROLE OF THE STATE

November 18th
STATE CAPITALISM
November 25th
COMMON OWNERSHIP

BROMLEY
Lecture Room, Bromley Public Library, High Street.
Wednesday, 21st November, 7.45 pm
WHO NEXT: TORY OR LABOUR?

WEMBLEY
Barham Old Court, Barham Park, Harrow Road, Wembley
Mondays at 8 pm

November 11th
TRANSPORT BEFORE THE 18th CENTURY
Speaker: L. Dale

November 25th
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS
Speaker: L. Weidberg

MARX AND THE SUNDAY TIMES

Some readers of the George Schwartz column in the *Sunday Times* of September 15th will have been surprised to see a headline "But Marx didn't say so" and still more surprised at the opening paragraph:

"The process of enlightenment goes on apace, and at such a pace that one is apt to be bedazzled. I say this somewhat ruefully because an article in the current number of the *Economica* on "Marxian Value Reconsidered" almost persuades me to become a Marxian.

Schwartz quoted extensively from the article in question to show, among other things, that Marx never believed capitalism would collapse through breakdown in a crisis; on the contrary, as Marx himself put it: "There are no permanent crises," and that Marx did not accept a theory of general over-production.

"The trouble arises," says Schwartz, in his paraphrase of Marx, "because the economy does not progress evenly. The very dynamism of capitalist enterprise brings about miscalculations and disproportionalities. The respective equilibriums of the various lines of production are constantly being disturbed and the conflict periodically leads to a crises which necessitates a transformation of the system."

At this point Mr. Schwartz draws back from his passing feeling of affinity with Marx and offers to discuss amicably with the ghost of Karl the problem of seeking corrective action for capitalism's malad-

justments.

The article from which Schwartz quotes is by Thomas Sowell of Rutgers University USA, and in the August issue of *Economica* (London School of Economics, 10s.) Sowell sets out to explain (with numerous quotations and references to sources) the meaning of Marx's law of value and its place in the general framework of his analysis of capitalism, and to show how Marx's approach to economics differed from that of other economists. Sowell also examines Marx's views on crises and disposes of some common misconceptions—to the surprise of Mr. Schwartz. It may surprise both Sowell and Schwartz to know that recognition of the wrongness of the "collapse" theories is not new for the SPGB. In the 1932 crisis, for example, in a short pamphlet "Why capitalism will not collapse," earlier crises were examined and the conclusion drawn:

... there is no simple way out of capitalism by leaving the system to collapse of its own accord. Until a sufficient number of workers are prepared to organise politically for the conscious purpose of ending capitalism, that system will stagger on indefinitely from one crisis to another.

At that time leaders of the ILP and the Communist Party were hysterically proclaiming the imminent collapse of capitalism.

H.

Milk-and-Water Reformism continued from page 173

BETHNAL GREEN

Town Hall, Cambridge Heath, E2
Wednesday, 13th November 8 pm

12 YEARS OF TORY GOVERNMENT

12 years of Tory Government
Speaker: E. Hardy

ISLINGTON

Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7 (near Finsbury Park Tube)
Thursday, 22nd November 8 pm

THE RUSSIAN WORKING CLASS

Speaker: R. Ambridge

WEST LONDON

Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall
Hammersmith, W6, Fridays 8 pm

November 1st

MARXIAN ECONOMICS
Speaker: E. Hardy

November 18th

MY VISIT TO INDIA
Speaker: C. Michael

PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE

Royal Oak, York Street, W1
(near Marylebone Road & Station)
Wednesdays 8.30 pm

November 20th

TRANSPORT—PRE-CAPITALISM
Speaker: L. Dale

November 27th

FILM SHOW

December 4th

DELINQUENCY
Speaker: J. Law

December 11th

THE NORMAN CONQUEST
Speaker: L. Dale

BELFAST, IRELAND

Outdoor meetings every Sunday at 3 pm, Customs House Square

Indoor meetings at Branch Rooms
53 High Street, Belfast,
Tuesdays 8 pm

November 5th

REFORMISM
Speaker: R. Montague

November 19th

LABOURISM
Speaker: B. Macloskey

December 3rd

NATIONALISM
Speaker: L. O'Brian

December 17th

SOCIALISM
Speaker: D. McCarthy

FUTURE MEETINGS

Islington Branch, Co-op Main Hall,
129 Seven Sisters Road, N7
January 1964

BRAINS TRUST

patients who wanted to use pay beds, should pay the full cost." Some years ago American politicians were talking of second-class citizens in third-class houses. Now the Labour Party are thinking of putting second-class citizens in first-class beds. They are even prepared, so they say, to build new hospitals in which small rooms would be more readily available for Health Service patients. This is one way of keeping the rich and poor apart, but like the rest of the Labour Party schemes, it will never remove the distinction between them.

Without wishing to predict the outcome of the next election, it does seem that the working class, having been hoodwinked by the Tories for thirteen years, may be set to let the Labour Party kid them, in their turn. This would be a distinction without a difference. One thing we will predict is that it will be "business as usual" for capitalism, with the Labour Party, if they get in, cracking the whip. They may think they have the

plans, but the slumps and wars, the riches and poverty of capitalism are quite impervious to such pettifogging scheming. Capitalism will still be here when the next Labour government have gone the way of the last four.

H. B.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Methuen, 36/-.
The Liberal Mind by Kenneth Minogue.
The Trial of Charles De Gaulle by Alfred Fabre-Luce, *Methuen* 30/-.
The Morning After by Brian Crozier, *Methuen* 30/-.

DURHAM

Will all those in the Sunderland and Newcastle area interested in the Socialist Party of Gr. Britain please contact: P. Toomey, 9 Gillingham Rd. Grindon Estate, Sunderland, Co. Durham

Income Tax and the wage struggle

IT is popularly supposed to be a virtue in a government not to impose income tax on low-wage workers. So each government tries to claim credit for having made alterations in the income tax which have the effect of freeing some workers from tax liability entirely, or at least of reducing the amount of it. This claim was made by the Labour Party following its six years in office after 1945 and was repeated by the Conservatives at the 1959 election.

Both the claims are so framed as to be distinctly disingenuous.

It was quite true, as the Conservatives claimed, that the raising of the tax allowance exempted millions of people from tax, but it was equally easy to see that, as wages rise, the exempted millions came into tax range again. And when the Labour Party *Handbook* 1951 claimed that a youth earning £3 a week in 1951 was paying less income tax than would have been levied on a wage of £3 in 1938 it would have been appropriate to point out that £3 in 1951 would buy only about half what it would have bought before the war.

And both governments refrained from stressing the fact that since the war income tax (Pay As You Earn) has been brought down to lower pay levels to take in millions more wage and salary earners than before the war. The number of people paying tax was under four million in 1938, 12 million in 1945, over sixteen million at the end of Labour's term of office, and up to nearly twenty million in 1961-2. The Tory budget of 1963 removed nearly four million from liability but with every wage increase some will be coming into the range again.

So if it is a merit not to make workers pay income tax neither the Labour Party nor the Tories can match up to the performance of the National Government in 1938; and none of them can compare with the governments in the nineteenth century which exempted practically the whole of the industrial workers and clerks from liability. An article in the summer number of *Public Administration*, by Mrs. Olive Anderson, shows that in the middle of the century the minimum level of pay liable to tax was about £3 a week, while the wages of even the most highly skilled craftsmen were under 30s. a week, and clerks' wages were under 40s. a week.

Interest attaches to the comparison because during the Crimean War tax reformers campaigned to get the taxable level brought down so that the mass of workers would be brought in, one suggestion being to make the tax payable on all wages of 6s. a week and over. One of the arguments was that as it was the town workers who were so keen on the war, why shouldn't they help to pay for it through income tax?

The proposed changes were not adopted, chiefly because of the difficulty and cost of collecting small amounts of tax from millions of individuals, many of whom often changed their jobs and moved to different towns. Below a certain level the tax costs more to collect than the yield to the government.

Later on tax collection became more efficient and more and more people were brought into tax liability by the twofold movement of the lowering of the exemption limit (from £160

in 1899 to £130 in 1915) and the upward movement of prices and wages.

But what is there in the common belief that the working class as a whole gain from a lowering of income tax and would gain still more if they were entirely exempt? The answer is, nothing at all! The condition of the working class, apart from possible short term effects when changes are introduced, is not the result of taxation whether in the form of income tax or the so-called indirect taxes, Purchase Tax, etc.

To start with, were the working class better off in 1938 when most of them were exempt from income tax and the rate was only five shillings (1s. 8d. on the first £135) than they have been since the war when nearly all of them are within the tax range and tax is at a higher rate? The evidence points to the fact that as a class they were rather worse off in 1938. And to go further back, were they better off in 1900 or 1850 when they paid no tax at all? Again, the answer is No!

In the latest year for which figures are available there were about 23 million wage and salary earners (including company directors) whose total income was about £14,000 million and who paid a tax of £1,200 million. If we take the industrial workers and shop assistants only, with a total wage bill of about £9,000 million a year, the amount of tax might perhaps be in the region of £300 million to £400 million a year.

Of course those who now have tax deducted would find their take home pay correspondingly increased when the deduction was reduced or ceased, and would for a while be better off; but in the general struggle between workers and employers over wages, this reduction of tax would be a factor in stiffening the attitude of the employers. In the situation of recent years, with fairly continuous low unemployment and increasing prices, such a reduction of tax would operate like any slackening in the rise of prices, it would make it that much more difficult for wage claims to make headway against the employers' resistance.

Conversely, changes which have brought more and more workers into the tax range, or have increased their rate of tax, had consequences similar to rises in the cost of living: they have stiffened the pressure of the workers for higher wages especially when unemployment has been low. In other words now that millions of workers have tax deducted they have come to think in terms of "take home pay" and to struggle for the maintenance or increase of that, rather than to look at the wage before deduction.

Mrs. Anderson, whose article has already been referred to, has found that a similar situation may have existed during the Crimean War. One of the reasons why income tax was not then extended to take in wage earners was that with the shortage of labour caused by the war it was feared that to whatever extent tax was levied on the workers the employers would be forced to raise wages to keep take home pay at its former level.

In short, struggling to raise wages is in line with working class interests, campaigning over taxation is not.

H.

Speakers

R. Critchfield
E. Lake
D. Zucconi

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

BATTERSEA TOWN HALL, THURSDAY 5 DECEMBER 8pm

Official Journal
of the Socialist
Party of Great
Britain and the
World Socialist
Party of Ireland

DECEMBER 1963 6d

Socialist Standard

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

The conversion of the means of life from the private property of an exploiting class to the common property of society will establish the framework within which can be solved once and for all the problems which the working class face today precisely because they are the working class. Even today we can see the world is quite capable of producing enough for everybody if only production were arranged with this in mind. Socialism will allow this to happen.

page 189

also in this number

NOT ENOUGH GOLD CAPITALISM OR CLASS POSTSCRIPT ON SKOPJE THE TSR-2

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

SPGB Branches

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY Thursdays 5th and 19th, Dec. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm: 6th Dec. at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel. 8EX. 1950) and 20th Dec. at 32 Ickleton Road, Dartford, SE9 (Tel. KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING, See WEST LONDON

GLASGOW Every Monday 8 pm, 163a Berkeley Street. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

HACKNEY 2nd and 4th Wednesdays in month 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, NS.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

LEWISHAM Wednesdays 4th, 16th and 30th Dec 8 pm Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, 2 Davenport Road, SE6.

SPGB Groups

BRIGHTON 3rd Friday in month, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

BROMLEY For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

EARLS COURT & DISTRICT Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

MID HERTS (Thursday 5th December 7.30 pm Room 3, The Community Centre, Mill Green Road, Welwyn Garden City. Correspondence: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close Hatfield, Herts. (Phone Hatfield 4802).

WSPI Branches

BELFAST Tuesdays 8 pm, 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

DUBLIN Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 5 Seville Terrace, North Strand, Dublin 1.

ARMAGH Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 20 Druids Villas, Armagh City, Co. Armagh.

NOTTINGHAM 2nd Wednesday in month (11th Dec.) 8 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: G. Hallam, 14 Church Drive Carrington, Nottingham.

PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX 2nd and 4th Monday in month (9th and 23rd Dec.) 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: A. Partner 28 Hambro Hill, Rayleigh.

SWANSEA 1st and 3rd Monday (2nd and 16th Dec.) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W5.

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (12th and 26th Dec. in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane, Romford, Essex.

WEST LONDON Fridays 8 pm, Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall, Hammersmith (facing river few minutes from Broadway). Correspondence: B. Warnecke, 158 Whitton Avenue East, Greenford, Middx.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 8.30 pm, 18 Ribblesdale Road, N8 (opposite Hornsey Railway Station - nearest Tube, Turnpike Lane). Correspondence to secretary at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (13th and 27th Dec.) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens Eltham, SE9.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: M. Hopwood, St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale. Nr Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Enquiries: T. Lord 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, c/o University Hall of Residence, Neusdd Gilbertson Blackpill, Swansea.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

SPECIAL NUMBER SOCIALIST STANDARD JANUARY 1964

Where are you going?

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Socialist Party of Ireland



SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings, etc., for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets 4th Sunday of each month at the Head Office, 5 Granville Buildings, 53 High Street, Belfast 1, at 3.30 pm. Next meeting December 22nd.

The News in Review

AT HOME 184
Two Classes, Getting to know you
Labour and the TSR-2.

ABROAD 185
Guiana must wait, Jews in Russia

BUSINESS 186
Investment, Profit, Wages

THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES 186

I'M ALRIGHT ALEC 187

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? 189

NOT ENOUGH GOLD 190

THE DRUDGERY OF WORK 191

FINANCE & INDUSTRY 192

POSTSCRIPT ON SKOPE 193

BRANCH NEWS & MEETINGS 194

THE JOYS OF INDEPENDENCE 195

THE PASSING SHOW 196

BY-ELECTIONS

Claims and counter claims

It is traditional that all sides put a brave face on it at election time. Only rarely does a defeated candidate admit that he has taken a beating; it is more usual that, after a bit of smart juggling with the voting returns, he claims some sort of victory, or at least a portent of a future victory.

This is what happened at the first of the by-elections to be fought since Sir Alec Douglas-Home came to power. Luton was a sore blow for the Conservatives; after all, the voters there have, by their restricted standards, done not too badly under Tory rule. The only comfort the new Prime Minister could offer over the Luton result was that his party had suffered similar defeats at by-elections in 1958 yet had won all the seats back at the next general election.

The Labour Party had the same sort of job to do over Kinross, where Douglas-Home got a vote rather better than he probably expected. The Tories said that the result marked a new chapter in their fortunes. Mr. Wilson preferred to remind us that Kinross was a safe Tory seat anyway and to claim that Luton was the more significant result. He may well turn out to be right.

All round satisfaction, then, and all round confidence that both sides are sure to win the next general election.

But one of them, of course, has to lose. The mock confidence which politicians assume when they discuss their chances of forming the next government is nothing but a smoke screen; they all believe that to concede defeat before the count has been taken will discourage their supporters and so cost them a lot of votes. So they whistle, albeit sometimes in the dark.

Thus the merry game of claim and counter-claim goes on. And for what? During the Kinross by-election, Douglas-Home gave out what the press was pleased to call his manifesto. He intended, he said, to "... regulate imports of cereals and meat to produce a steadier and more stable market." (Kinross, of course, has a lot of farmers). He will "... bring our industries up to date and make our railways and roads the best in the world ... see that higher education is open to every boy and girl in Britain who is qualified to take advantage of it ... speed up the rate of house building, slum clearance and modernisation ... continue to look after pensioners and all those in need."

All very familiar. All very much as expected. No politician dare enter the arena without a brief case full of such promises. Political battles are largely a matter of which side can offer the most attractive sounding programme without leaving themselves open to the counter-punch line that they are irresponsibly cadging for votes.

But whichever side wins the battle, the end result is to all intents and purposes the same. The needs of capitalism itself often wipe out many of the promises and those that survive and come onto the Statute Book have little, if any, effect upon the lives of the people who have been persuaded to vote for them. Capitalism grinds on, leaving the mass of its people to be exploited by a privileged few, who do very well out of the arrangement.

The key to social progress is the level of knowledge and understanding which the masses attain. When they begin to see through the promises and the posturing of their leaders, the first gleam of hope for the better life will be on the horizon. In the meantime, there is unaltered comfort for capitalism. As long as there are results like those at Luton, Kinross, Dundee and the rest capitalism will continue; whether under a Labour or Conservative government is unimportant.

AT HOME

Two classes

We are still, the government anxiously assured the voters in the recent by-elections, living in the Age of Affluence. Very well. As the Conservatives promise that their new government will bring in a more vital, more prosperous Britain, as the Labour Party bid for our votes with a vision of this country as a vast test-tube, what is the latest from the poverty and riches front?

The Co-operative Permanent Building Society reported that half the people who buy homes through them earn less than twenty pounds a week and that a quarter earn less than sixteen pounds a week. Two-thirds of the houses bought through the Co-op, cost less than £3,000. Anyone who has lowered himself into the perilous pit of working class house ownership will appreciate what these figures mean in terms of size and quality of houses and of struggle to pay off the loan on them. House owners are supposed to be among the most affluent of the working class but the Co-op's report shows that none of them live in a castle and that buying a house relieves nobody of the usual working class battle to get by.

Housing of another sort cropped in one more of those conferences—this time of the National Housing and Town Planning Council. Dr. Eric M. Sigsworth, lecturer in economic history at the University of York, said that there will be three million unfit houses or slums in this country by 1973. Now this is after the promised speed up in slum clearance. Perhaps they would clear more if they slowed down?

Many workers think that the road out of poverty, bad housing and the like, is one of loyal obedience to their employer. Among other firms, the Ford Motor Company have encouraged this idea. They give silver and gold badges to the men who have done long service, and who have kept essential machinery going when there was a strike on. They also give these men certain staff and pension privileges. But Fords are now in the midst of another efficiency drive and what account does this take of loyalty? The drive has meant that four of the gold and silver badge men have been sent back to the factory floor, which means that they have been demoted and that they have lost their privileges. If they did not like the way the company was repaying their long service, the four men could have accepted

dismissal. Which must have caused some hard, rueful, thinking in the loyal heads of Dagenham.

Everything very normal, in other words, for the working class. Nothing changing, either, for their social betters. The will of Sir George Usher, an industrialist who died last October, showed that he was worth over £2 million at the end of his life. Each of his sons inherited over a million pounds—which must have come from somebody's hard work, but not theirs.

The Finance Accounts for the United Kingdom 1962-3 showed that it is still a paying business to be a figurehead for British capitalism. Annuities paid to the Royal Family amounted to £166,000 during the year. Not bad for reading out speeches which somebody else has written for you, shaking hands and generally doing as you are told.

Will the household budgets of any readers of the SOCIALIST STANDARD be affected by the increase in the fees of Eton? Anyway, it is instructive to hear about them and to ask whether every child really has the equal chance in education the politicians are always promising. Eton has gone up to £554 a year. If you can't run to that you can try for Harrow or Winchester (both £498) or Charterhouse (£492). Or there is always the local Council Primary, which costs a little less and has other differences besides.

Getting to know you

It is a common fallacy that a Minister who is familiar with the problems which his department has to deal with is able to solve them that much more easily. And, of course, it gives a boost to people's morale if a Minister appears in their midst, looks at their conditions and clicks his tongue in sympathy. The forget that when he gets back to Whitehall he is so often quite powerless to do anything about the conditions.

So it has come about that successive Ministers of Housing have always made an early tour of the worst of the slums as if looking at them would make the slums go away instead of increasing, as they in fact do. And so it was that Lord Hailsham (as he then was), when he was put in charge of the unemployment problem in the North East, went straight off to tour the area cloth cap and all. But any personal experience which Hailsham

might have gained about the North East was wasted, because Douglas-Horne replaced him with Edward Heath.

Now Mr. Heath is supposed to be a very astute man. Did he, then, abandon the pretence about the usefulness of a personal appearance? One of his first appointments was to fly off to the North East to see for himself what unemployed men and their families, and idle shipyards and factories, look like.

Labour and the TSR2

One of the latest babies of British capitalism, proudly wheeled out by its doting parents, is the TSR-2.

This aircraft, it is claimed, can do almost anything by way of airborne destruction. In its ability to perform the most horrifying deeds, in the range of its destructive power, in its diabolical versatility, the TSR-2 is something like a precocious, delinquent child.

These horrors are going to cost something like a couple of million pounds each. Commenting on this, Mr. Denis Healey, the Labour M.P. (who put the cost at £20 million each), asked what this sum represented in terms of schools, hospitals, and so on. This is a common complaint, whenever the amount of money which capitalism spends upon weapons is discussed. Yet what do the Healeys expect? Capitalism has a list of priorities to which it allocates its resources and human comfort is not near the top of it. This was as true under the Labour government which Mr. Healey supported as under the Tory one which he attacks.

Indeed, Mr. Healey showed how small are the differences between his own party and the Tories on the issue of armaments when he went on to say that the TSR-2 is a waste of money, which could better be spent on military helicopters and other transport aircraft and on the Buccaneer, a naval strike plane which is already in



THE NEWS IN REVIEW

service.

The best, then, that the Labour Party offers us on the matter of armaments policy is to look after the purse strings more carefully than the Conservatives have done. They will try to make sure that every penny the British ruling class

spend on their weapons gets value for money.

And perhaps they will succeed. Perhaps, under Labour, there will be no more Blue Streak fiascos. British capitalism will still have fearfully destructive armaments, the waste of human know-

ledge and resources will go on, but it will all be presided over by a Labour Minister of Defence who will make sure that it is done at the market price and not a penny over. Does this encourage us to believe the hypocritical Labour claim to stand for peace and progress? It does not.

ABROAD

Guiana must wait

It was by something like a slick trick that Colonial Secretary Duncan Sandys brought the recent British Guiana constitutional conference, which was supposed to discuss ways of granting the colony independence, to a close.

The British government has rejected the idea of early independence for British Guiana. Instead, another conference will take place after fresh elections next year. The significant thing about the election is that they will be run on a proportional representation scheme which will probably break up the present party groupings. At the last elections the Peoples' Progressive Party, led by Doctor Jagan, got 43 per cent. of the votes, but 60 per cent. of the seats, while the opposition Peoples' National Congress, with 41.5 per cent. of the votes, got just over 36 per cent. of the seats.

This sort of result is common in the direct electoral system which British Guiana, and this country, has worked to. The fact that Mr. Sandys thinks that proportional representation is a good idea for British Guiana does not mean that he is thinking about advocating the same thing for Great Britain. The two big British parties do to well out of the present system for that.

The latest Sandys plan was, bluntly, a tongue-in-the-cheek trick to impose Whitehall's own wishes upon British Guiana. Dr. Jagan described it as "dastardly and unprincipled," which is just the expression which other people might have used about the Doctor's own action last year, when he called in British troops to suppress a rising in the colony.

In spite of Jagan's fulminating, the people of British Guiana seemed to have taken the news quietly. It would be good news indeed if this meant that they have come to understand that capitalism is full of diplomatic double-crossing and that in

any case the Guianese working people have no more to hope for from independence than they had under British rule.

Sadly, this is unlikely at the present.

Jews in Russia

From the Soviet Union comes more indications of the recent trend there of persecution of the Jews.

The latest example comes in the October 20 edition of *Izvestia* which reports, and comments, upon the alleged crimes of a number of men but most prominently upon two called Shakerman and Roifman, both of whom are Jews.

These men are accused of embezzlement and bribery, of setting up a profitable racket in the produce of State factories and farms. The full story reminds

us of the vast enterprise of Milo Minderbinder in *Catch 22*; they are said to have been running a knitwear factory which embezzled machinery and with wool which they had diverted from collective farms. The produce, say the prosecution, was sold on the black market.

Izvestia is furious about these allegations, and raves that the men had amassed thirty million roubles in cash and a hundredweight of gold, diamonds and platinum. The paper has also assumed that the accused are guilty before their trial is complete.

Whether these men are criminals or not, there is mounting evidence of a campaign in Russia to use the Jews as scapegoats to excuse the country's recent economic difficulties. This is a nasty subterfuge which has often been used in the past. Ignorant workers who are suffering the brunt of capitalism's problems are usually only too ready to blame some racial or religious minority for their troubles.

There need, then, be no surprise that this is happening in Russia. In any case, how is it that economic crimes are possible in a country which is supposed to be Socialist? How can a country where everyone stands equally offer the chance for a criminal to amass enormous wealth while the rest of the people suffer hunger and other hardships? How can a society where wealth is owned in common have any sort of a market, black or white?

It is impossible to answer these questions, and to explain anti-Semitism in Russia, unless we face the facts. The Soviet Union is not a Socialist country even supposing that such a thing as Socialism in one country were possible. It is a capitalist country and one where precious little democracy exists at that.

When we have got that straight, everything else about the USSR falls neatly into place.

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THE NEWS IN REVIEW

BUSINESS

Investment, profit, wages

The big mergers in Top Industry continue. Imperial Chemical Industries, who last May put up £10 million with Courtaulds to finance the acquisition of Tootal, have now lashed out another £13 million on Viyella International Ltd. Viyella have interests in spinning, weaving, dyeing and printing.

Viyella were not planning on any big capital investment in the near future but will obviously be able to use ICI's money. ICI are probably interested in Viyella's use of synthetic fibres, which now account for about half of its business. Industry is always seeking for ways of safeguarding its interests, but capitalism upsets its plans. Even a giant like ICI is no exception to this.

J. Lyons & Co. Ltd., the teashop firm, is another in the merger field. Its latest venture is in frozen food, the home market for which is estimated to be worth about 72 million a year.

Lyons are tying up their frozen food branch (Frood) with that of Associated Fisheries (Eskimo) and Union International (Fropax). This merger, it is hoped, will result in a combine which will initially command 16 per cent. of the market.

The move is presumably aimed against Unilever's Birds Eye group, which at present claims two-thirds of the British retail market.

Capitalism is described, by its de-

fenders, as an efficient social system. Yet it would be difficult for them to find anything efficient or beneficial in the waste of the continual war which rival companies must carry on against each other over the carve up of a market.

The object of it all is, of course, bigger and bigger profits. A company which has succeeded in this past many expectations is Marks and Spencers, which since the war has been transformed from a rather dull chain store group into a bright, hard selling, and very profitable, concern. The very epitome, with its staff welfare schemes and its split second, split penny operation, of a "progressive" capitalist company.

The sales of M&S rose to £95.5 millions in the six months up to September this year. This was a record and with the Christmas rush to come, sales are expected to reach £200 million for the year—for the first time in the company's history. To mark the occasion, shareholders got an extra 1½ per cent. on their interim dividend.

And what about the people who make these sales, and mergers, and profits, possible? What do they get out of it? The wages of the working class are a constant worry to their employers, for the simple reason that higher wages mean lower profits, and vice versa.

That is why governments are always trying to control wages. Usually this control is described by a smooth phrase which is meant to persuade the workers

that their wages are not being held down, and that nobody is trying to do so. Some industrialists, although they recognise their need for wage restraint, think that it should be done more subtly than has been the case in the past. This is what Lord Robens, Chairman of the National Coal Board, said on the subject when he spoke at last month's Annual Conference of the Institute of Directors:

Whether we like it or not, the most sensitive spot in all our industrial relations is the size of Friday's pay packet. That is why I deplore the continual use since the war of such phrases as "wage restraint," "wage freeze," and "pay pause". . . .

A national productivity drive hasn't a hope of success if it is accompanied by phrases like that.

Their very sound puts a chill down a workman's spine and they merely create ill-feeling and bitterness between management and men. . . .

Some sort of "guiding light" is essential if we are to rationalise the present chaos of wages settlement.

Inevitably, we must ask whether Lord Robens, when he was an M.P. supporting the 1945-51 Labour government—and later a member of that government—ever expressed so freely his dislike of the term "wage freeze". He had plenty of chances too; it was the Labour government which invented it. Presumably, in the days when the Labour government was fighting to check wages, and using every euphemism in the book to do so, Alf Robens preferred to hold his peace.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD
December, 1963.

THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES

In dealing with the question of Taxation of Land Values it must be remembered that the advocates of this measure, from Henry George to Joseph Hyder, always assumed the retention of capitalism in all its other features.

Under such conditions there is no difference in principle between taxing land and taxing lace. Both are cases of the Governmental powers being used to take wealth from members of society for general purposes—as wise old Benjamin Franklin saw.

Taxation is, of course, necessary under capitalism, and the only question is, how shall the "burden" be apportioned among the taxpayers—the capitalist class. The land-owning

section are quite sure the "burden" should not be placed on them, while the industrial capitalists are equally certain that they should not be called upon to pay. Hence the minor quarrel between them over taxes.

But under capitalism the joining together of these two sections into a land-owning industrial capitalist group is steadily increasing. For them the problem is solved. From the general capitalist standpoint the portion of wealth best able to bear the "burden" of taxation is land, as it disturbs the production and distribution of commodities—the great factor of capitalism—less than any other method of raising the sum required. Hence large landowners who happen

to be still more largely interested in industry, favour taxation of land values, to the great bewilderment of "the man in the street," who finally explains a landowner being in favour of taxing land by the theory that he is "a good man."

Except, then, as an indication of the development of capitalism, and the concentration of both land and industrial capital into fewer hands, taxation of land values, even up to 20s. in the £, no more leads to Socialism than would taxation of toffee. On the contrary, it would merely be one of the steps in the more efficient organisation of capitalism for the benefit of the capitalists.

CAPITALISM AND CLASSES

I'm alright, Alec

IN many ways, the selection of Sir Alec Douglas-Home as the new Tory Prime Minister made political history. What Macmillan called "the usual processes of consultation" will one day be the subject of countless essays, articles and hopeful theses on the techniques of political dealing. In the end, Home's succession was a surprise to most of the observers who are supposed to be able to forecast such things.

But in one way—a way that will not be mentioned in the histories—Home's appointment came up as expected. It was certain that whoever got the job would do so in a smoke-screen of what can only be called nonsense. There was, in fact, a different sort of nonsense for each of the candidates. Hailsham was said to be tough, colourful, impetuous—just the man to give some stick to Khrushchev or, darkly hinted the Labour Party, to press the button in a disastrous moment of irascibility. Butler was smooth, remote, soft on coshboys. And so on.

The nonsense which was put out about Home was influenced by his peculiar circumstances. There was the usual stuff about the new Prime Minister's amiable manner, about his propensity for chatting with Foreign Office chaps, about the way he eats his breakfast porridge. We have grown accustomed to such stuff and have come to assume that it is all meant to prove something.

What was unique about the Home propaganda revolved around the fact that he was the latest of a long line of Scottish noblemen. The first of these was created a peer by James III, although his gratitude at this was not enough to dissuade him from later joining a rebel movement against the king. That particular peer died in 1491 later holders of the title met a grisly end or figured in a long feud with another Border family. The amiability for which the last Lord Home was famous could easily be due to the serene security in which he has always lived and to the curious reasoning by which some aristocratic families convince themselves that they hold their superior situation in life as a favour to the less fortunate masses.

This, as we might have expected, was meat and drink to the Labour propagandists. Just as they were basing their appeal on a drive to modernise and stimulate British capitalism, just as Wilson was telling us that the future lies in a disturbingly scientific Britain, the Tories make themselves appear outdated, obsessed with the old school tie, by electing the inheritor of an ancient Scottish earldom as their leader! How can such a man, demanded Mr. Wilson, know anything about the problems of kids taking the eleven-plus, or of a couple who are paying the mortgage off their house?

How indeed? But then, even if we accept that Home does not know anything about these things, would there be any advantage for us if he *did* know? The Labour Party have always tried to present an image of themselves as men who have come up the hard way and who are therefore familiar with working class problems. Today they may pose as the party for young graduates who are bursting to get their hands on a computer and start driving the deadwood out of the boardrooms; not so long ago they were full of ex-miners who talked about getting the bosses off our backs. Yet what happened when the ex-miners came to power? The 1945 Labour government had many men like James Griffiths and Ernest Bevin whose early lives had been of appalling hardship. Did that government run the affairs of British capitalism any more humanely for that? Did they ever shrink

from taking measures which, although essential to the interests of the British ruling class, were harmful to the very people whose votes and work had raised them to power? They did not.

The humble beginnings of some of the Labour ministers did not prevent them running British capitalism in the established manner, with all that that means. Indeed, perhaps there were times between 1945 and 1951 when miners, or dockers, or some other group of workers, may have wished that they were being governed by people who did *not* know so much about their problems—and about their methods of trying to alleviate them.

For all that, Wilson's thrust at the fourteenth Earl was typically shrewd and may have set the tone for Labour's future attacks on Home. The Tories' reply was enough to show that they are as concerned as they need be about the aristocratic lineage of their new leader. Heralded by Peregrine Worsthorne in the *Sunday Telegraph*, the Conservative machine set out to convince us that Home's selection proved that a man can become Prime Minister on his own ability, and in spite of the fact that he is an Earl. This, in some peculiar way, is supposed to mean that we are developing a classless society in which all Britons are equal. Home himself made his own version of the point when he commented that the Labour leader is probably the fourteenth Mr. Wilson, which was joyously trumpeted by the *Daily Telegraph* as the best crack for a long time.

We can see, then, that the elevation of Home has released a flood of nonsense not just about the man himself but about the class to which he belongs and about the class division of society. Class, we know, is something of a dirty word. Every capitalist party strives to assure us that they do not stand for the interests of any one class and that their policies are designed to benefit us all. At the same time they work hard to convince us that their opponents' schemes are class-inspired. The Labour Party damns the Tories as the rich man's party; the Conservatives sneer that the Labour Party is obsessed with class bigotry. That is not the end of the confusion. Some people think that classes do not exist, others believe that they do exist but they are not sure where the divisions between them begin and end. They talk about lower middle and upper-working class and other, equally meaningless, divisions.

Now the only way to clear up confusion is to present the facts. What, first of all, is a class? It has nothing to do with how much a person may earn, nor the sort of job he does, nor the school he went to. A class is a group of people who are united, whether they admit to it or not, by a common economic interest. This means that in modern capitalist society people are split into two classes, each of them with opposing economic interests. In this situation, it is nonsense to talk of a middle class—a class with "middle" interests somewhere between the two. The two classes which exist today are, on the one hand, those who have to work for a wage for their living and on the other those who can live without having to go out to work. The first of these—the working class—have virtually no property in the means of producing wealth and for that reason are forced to rely on their wage to live. They sell their working ability to the other class—who, because they own enough stocks, shares, bonds, and so on, can live very well without having to work. The interests of capitalist and worker are opposed because one is a seller, and the other a buyer, of a commodity—the working ability of the worker.

It is a common fallacy that the gap between the classes is growing daily smaller. Yet there is obviously a pretty big gap between Sir Alec Douglas-Home and the working people of Scotland—the miners, the dockers, the clerks, the farm hands and the rest. The evidence, in fact, says that the gap is as large as ever. The Ministry of Labour Family Expenditure Survey for 1962 gives some idea of what it means to be a member of an average working class family. In the year under review, the families which had a weekly income of between £15 and £20 spent an average of £1 14s. 4d. a week on their housing, £5 7s. 10d. on food—and made what the Survey calls a “net loss” of 4s. 4d. on betting. We know, because these figures are pretty general for all of us, that this sort of expenditure does not allow a very opulent life. But that is all that the average member of the working class can afford.

On the other side of the gap it is a very different story. Last September a young heiress lost her life in a sailing accident off the South Coast. Although she was only 21 when she died, she left a net amount of £82,309—which is far more than any worker can ever dream of earning. A classless society? The Earl of Harrington recently put up for auction his family seat, Elvaston Castle, and the 4,500 acre estate that goes with it. This estate includes three villages. This sale, which was worth over a million pounds to the Earl, will not leave him homeless. He owns 5,000 acres and will be going to live in his other place in County Limerick. These are only two glimpses at life on the other side of the gap. We may not exactly know, but we can take a guess, at what that life is like and at the sort of expenditure the people on that side can afford. It will not be anything like that of the average family under the Ministry of Labour's microscope.

It is obvious on which side Sir Alec is. He is a member

of the capitalist class who also happens to lead a government which avowedly stands for capitalism. The Labour Party may not have many leaders to compare with Home's aristocratic background, but this does not alter the fact that they also stand for capitalism. In fact, what matters is not whether the men who run the private property system of society are blue-blooded or bear the blue scars which prove that they once sweated and suffered down a coal mine. Experience has told us that the ex-miner runs capitalism as ruthlessly as any Tory nobleman. The important thing is what each of them stands for.

Capitalism, by its class ownership of the means of living, its inequalities and its privileges, perpetuates the class system. It is hypocrisy for a party to say that they are opposed to class privileges while they stand for the social system which fosters them. And all the capitalist parties are guilty of this. All of them, in whatever accent, pay lip service to human equality. And all of them in fact support the world in which the masses are condemned to the paltry and the shoddy while a small minority own the land we walk over, the things we work with, almost our very lives themselves. This minority live, to put it mildly, very well off the masses. Perhaps, of a night, they offer up an extra prayer—I'm alright, Alec; do your best to keep it that way.

Douglas-Home has no proposals to alter this state of affairs and neither have his Labour and Liberal opponents. If class society is to be brought to an end, the first essential is that the nonsense has to stop. But capitalist parties thrive—indeed they live—on nonsense. If the working class were to see through it all—now that would really make history and Alec would no longer be alright.

IVAN

A TORY VIEW OF CHINA

In an article in the *Sunday Times* on October 6th Sir Fitzroy Maclean, M.P., described the conditions he found on a recent visit and expressed the view that the peasants are better off than they were before the Communist Party got control of the government:

It is true that by one method or another they are regimented and made to toe the line. But they do not, as they used to, have the fear of actual starvation always hanging over their heads. Nor are they perpetually harassed by the rent collector and the money-lender or by the marauding war lords and bandits who caused such havoc.

He sees China developing militarily and economically and aiming to dominate Asia. He also noted that, despite the abuse the Chinese and Russian Communists hurl at each other there is one thing both countries (and all other countries) have in common:

In China, as elsewhere, how you live and what you buy depends on how much

money you have. And who, it will be asked, has the money? The answer, as in the Soviet Union, is: the privileged classes. Officials, high-ranking officers, scientists, technicians, skilled workers and so on. But to those must be added a small and peculiarly Chinese category: the Communist Capitalists. These, surprisingly enough are the former owners of, for example, factories, whose enterprises have been taken over by the State and who receive annually from the State as compensation a percentage of the capital value of the enterprise. As they are also very often employed as managers of the factory, some of them are extremely well off.

BEA'S HIDDEN PROFITS

In case any of our readers should misunderstand the intention behind the phrase “... B.E.A. pointed out how generous a deal its shareholders have got...” in October's *News In Review*, we publish the following clarification.

There are no shareholders or stockholders in B.E.A. or B.O.A.C. so there are no

individual investors who have an interest in whether the corporations make a profit or loss.

Under the Air Corporations Act 1949 Sections 9 and 10 the corporations were authorized to issue stock (subject to permission having been given by the Treasury) and the stock carried Treasury guarantee for interest and capital. Both corporations had issues of stock. For example, B.O.A. 3% stock 1960/70, B.O.A. 24% stock 1977/82. However, under a later act, the Finance Act, 1956, the corporations were permitted to raise money by means of loans from the Exchequer with the result that these Exchequer advances have replaced the old arrangements of stock issues.

But, even under the old arrangements there were no investors who had any interest in whether the corporations made a loss or a profit. Though the stock bore the name of B.O.A. or B.E.A., they were fixed interest stocks and the interest and capital were guaranteed by the Treasury. In this respect the air corporations were following the arrangements which are fairly general throughout the nationalised industries.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

What is Socialism?

THE Socialist Party is often criticized for not being “practical” or for not putting forward any proposals for today. But this is not the point.

The Socialist Party does not exist to campaign for petty reforms within the capitalist system. It is the instrument which the working class can use to gain control of the machinery of government. Once in control the workers can use this machine to dispossess the capitalist class by declaring all the means of life the common property of all society. This will allow the workers to take over the industries and to keep production going in the ways they will have worked out beforehand.

As soon as the last capitalist has been dispossessed then classes will have ceased to exist. It will no longer make sense to speak of a working class and a capitalist class. Everybody, including the ex-capitalists, will have the same status as free producers. Not that things will immediately be startlingly different from what they were before. Production will have to be kept going. Although such jobs as bank clerks and ticket inspectors would disappear, engineers would remain engineers and, perhaps, railwaymen, railwaymen.

The main point is that we today don't know and can't really imagine what conditions will be like immediately prior to the capture of political power so that we can't say exactly what the problems that will have to be faced afterwards will be. But we can say this. The conversion of the means of life from the private property of an exploiting class to the common property of society will establish the framework within which can be solved once and for all the problems which the working class face today precisely because they are the working class. Even today we can see that the world is quite capable of producing enough for everybody if only production were arranged with this object in mind. Socialism will allow this to happen.

The economic problem which Socialist Society will have to solve is that of organizing those able and willing to work to produce the food, clothing, houses and all the other articles men need to live. This problem is by no means small and it is important to realise what the problem involves. It has three aspects:

First, what articles are to be produced? Clearly there will be room for a wide choice here. Socialist society will have to decide what it needs most.

Second, how shall these articles be produced and by whom? There is also a wide range of possibilities here: mass production, handicraft and the many combinations of both.

Third, how shall those articles produced be divided among the world's population?

Though capitalism faces the same problem these questions are not consciously asked and the answer has always been provided by the impersonal workings of capitalism's laws. Socialism will allow society to ask and answer these questions consciously. This is what planning means. Men will have control over the means of production to use them as they think fit. Under capitalism there can be no genuine planning as the market is the real king. Firms turn out goods and hope the market will absorb them. Socialist society will estimate what will be needed in advance and then produce it. Allowances for changes in taste and natural disasters can be made by producing more than is needed as a kind of insurance.

One of the most important problems to be faced is how much of production should be articles to be consumed directly

by the people and how much should be devoted to renewing and expanding the factories and places where the other articles are produced. The point is this: the same problems which the laws of supply and demand and capital accumulation are supposed to solve under capitalism will still have to be faced by society under Socialism. However, the abolition of private property and the conversion of the means of life into the common property of mankind will allow society to set about tackling questions of economic organisation in a scientific way. This emphasis on planning means that the information available will have to be the most accurate possible. Social planning will also raise the question of how much social control should be exercised from the centre and how much from the locality. This is a further problem Socialist society will have to meet. Socialism will not, of course, be a static society. Changes in ways of producing things, ways of living and behaving will continue. Just as living patterns have changed under capitalism in the last fifty years or so with the invention of television, wireless and the like so will there be similar changes under Socialism.

As soon as the capitalist system has been abolished distribution will be direct. This means that money will not intervene. It will have become redundant as soon as common ownership has been established.

How articles are distributed will to a large extent depend on how many articles and of what sorts there are to distribute. It may well be the case that for a short time it will not be possible for people to take as much of every article as they think they might need. The reason for this is simple. It takes time to produce articles and even longer to build factories and cultivate fields so as to be able to produce more. In this situation it would be for people to adjust their requirements to what was available, recognising that such shortages were temporary anyway and that eventually production would match up with distribution as the new society progressively removed the obstacles left over from capitalism.

Another change will be in the field of “government.” Government of people will disappear. This means that those parts of the government machine which actually make it a government machine, namely, armed forces, law courts, etc., will disappear as soon as possible after the capture of political power. This does not mean that all administration will disappear; on the contrary; the idea of social control is essential to Socialism. It just means that the coercive government machine will have been transformed merely into a clearing house for settling social affairs. This clearing house will be a part of the administrative machinery through which the economy will be managed.

With the disappearance of politics and the political state will disappear also political parties. This does not mean there will be no disagreements; of course there will. Men and women will directly participate in discussing and organizing production for what they consider to be their own benefit. This is why the Socialist Party insists that you cannot have Socialism without the great majority of people desiring it and understanding its implications. The working class will establish Socialism themselves; they cannot rely on leaders and “experts.” So, in addition to common ownership, Socialism means that there will be democratic control of the means of life. Democracy is just as much a fundamental part of Socialism as is common ownership.

continued foot of next page

Not enough gold?

WE ARE being asked to concern ourselves with another crisis, caused this time by the decline in the American gold reserve and by the steps the American Government proposes to take to stop the loss.

The alarm was sounded in an article in the *Economist* of July 27 of this year, and the problem has since been discussed at conferences attended by financial authorities of ten leading industrial countries at Washington in October, followed by meetings in Paris last month.

A natural reaction of those who are unfamiliar with the intricacies of the problem is to leave it to the experts to tell us what to do. Unfortunately for that view the "experts" are unable to agree on the solution, or even on the problem. As recently as a year ago the late Per Jacobsson, Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, speaking in Washington, said there wasn't anything to worry about. The *Daily Telegraph* on September 18, 1962, reported him as saying that "there were indications the world was approaching a state of economic equilibrium solid enough to withstand monetary tension." In particular he believed that it would be possible "to assure a stable exchange rate structure without altering the price of gold," and that "the ample monetary reserves of individual countries, together with central bank credits, and the increased facilities of the Fund, provided formidable lines of defence against any pressures that might arise."

But the *Economist* article, referred to above, denies everything that Dr. Jacobsson said and demands early action to do the things he said were not necessary. It also threw in the interesting titbit that the banking experts do not know their job at all—"The difficulty lies with bankers all over the world who still do not really understand modern monetary economics." (It will be interesting to look later at some of the odd economies of the *Economist*).

The *Financial Times* on September 9th added the further observation that the central bankers (who according to the *Economist* don't understand what they are doing) cannot ever agree among themselves. It pointed out that while the bankers of the Bank for International Settlements "dismissed the problem of international liquidity as artificial," the other lot in the International Monetary Fund "takes a very different line," and the paper calls on governments to take action to stimulate demand. The *Financial Times* actually quotes the late Dr. Jacobsson as having urged courses the reverse of those he was advocating in September, 1962. So much for the experts.

What then is the problem? It is a truism to say that the exports of goods and services of all the countries in the world balance the imports of all the countries in the world: two ways of looking at the same thing. But in practice any one country may at a given time be exporting insufficient to pay for its imports, or may be exporting more than enough to pay for its imports: again, the total "surpluses" of exports over imports balance in amount the total "deficits."

WHAT IS SOCIALISM continued from previous page]

This, then, is the Socialist alternative to capitalism. Socialists are not Utopians. We know that such a system is possible. Everything necessary is present save one thing: a desire on your part to have such a system.

A. L. B.

What then happens to a country which is importing more than it can pay for by its exports? If it had large gold reserves or reserves of dollars or other currencies it might use them to pay for the excess of imports. Or it might pay for them out of loans or gifts or capital investments from one of the countries running an excess of exports over imports: the United States is such a country, in spite of which it is in difficulties. American exports do exceed its imports, but the amount of American money spent abroad in aid, loans, investments, tourist spending and the maintenance of armed forces has been so great that the huge American gold reserve has been running down at the rate of \$3,000 million to \$3,500 million a year, and the American Government proposes to cut its foreign spending deficit by that amount. The *Economist* admits that in theory this should not matter because other countries running a surplus of exports could themselves step up their own foreign loans, investments and did to the countries running a deficit. "But everybody knows that the pattern of deterioration will not work itself out with this marvellous neatness, and that all the finance ministries of the world are not sufficiently enlightened to react to it with absolute logic."

Instead, thinks the *Economist*, the developed countries which could step in to fill the gap will not do so but will start cutting their imports and production to protect their own reserves of gold, etc.; and the underdeveloped countries will have to cut their own development programmes because the capital they need from outside will not be forthcoming. Then there could be a general world lessening of trade, with an increase of unemployment as has happened so often in the past century and a half.

To Socialists this is just another demonstration of what an anarchic, unstable and wasteful system capitalism is, and of the need to end it and get the world operating on sane lines. Not so to the *Economist* and the rest of the experts. For the writer in the *Economist*, "the best and most idealistic method" is not the commonsense one of ending a system which does on repeating crises of this kind but the idea of establishing "some new international central bank that would create some \$3,000 or \$3,500 millions a year of new deposits with itself which it could put to the credit of underdeveloped countries."

This makes sense to the *Economist* because they believe that it is all due to there not being enough money, but while the *Economist* waits to form still another bank to offer to lend still more money, the *Guardian* city editor on September 30 was reporting that one of the existing two international bodies, the World Bank, is facing the dilemma of having money to lend but not being able to find borrowers to whom it is safe to lend it:

The problem is not a lack of money but rather a lack of borrowers—at least of borrowers who can meet the stiff terms on which the bank has so far always insisted when making loans.

Despite this the *Economist* believes that there is not enough money about and that this is due to scarcity of gold:

There is at least some element of truth in the ridiculous thought that if some aged prospector in Australia in the last century had made a luckier strike in the outback, or if the ancient Egyptians had given the first mystical monetary significance to some commodity which had subsequently proved to be more easy to produce than gold, we would not now face quite the same danger of unnecessary restriction of world production and trade as we face today.

Which goes to show how little the *Economist* understands about the capitalist system which it defends so stoutly. During the past 150 years capitalism has boomed when gold production was rising and when it wasn't, and slumped into depression when gold production was rising and when it wasn't. And in the course of history governments have indeed tried some other commodities, including silver, without in any way avoiding booms and slumps.

What the *Economist* does not recognise is that the exchange rate between commodities, including gold and silver, depends basically on their values. The total world output of silver, measured by the tonnage produced, is six or seven times the output of gold, but the value of gold (on the current price relationship) is about 28 times the value of silver, ounce for ounce. So if the world used silver for its reserves instead of gold, or if gold were so plentiful than an ounce of gold could be mined as cheaply as an ounce of silver, the gold or silver reserves of the world would need to be something like 28 times as large by tonnage as they are now, the price of each ounce being one twenty-eighth of the present price of gold. The *Economist* would consequently still be saying, during recurrent balance of payment difficulties, that it was all due to the insufficiency of the then not-so-precious metal.

In the meantime, the Russian Government is helping to les-

sen the immediate problem by using the hundreds of millions of dollars of its gold reserve to buy wheat in Canada, U.S.A. and elsewhere because of the failure of the Russian harvest. This throws light on the real nature of the problem. Vast quantities of wheat and other foodstuffs have been produced in those countries and held in store because it was surplus to market demand and could not be sold profitably.

Russian gold has been there all through the years that the American Government has been holding the unsaleable stocks, and the Russians could have bought if they had wanted to. They didn't want to because they, too, had surplus foods in years of good harvest. And all the time, side by side with private hoarders who hold enormous quantities of gold, there have been hundreds of millions of people (including some in America and Russia (who would have been glad to have more food but lacked the money, and they lacked the money not because of a mistake by the ancient Egyptians but because capitalism divided the population into owners and non-owners, into rich and poor.

The ideal and only practical solution to a problem that capitalism cannot solve (except in the temporary fashion of each expansion of production and trade being followed by a contraction) is to get rid of production for profit and for the market.

H.

FILMS

THE DRUDGERY OF WORK

The life of the worker in present day society is one of the weary round of working and sleeping, with brief intervals for relaxation, overtime permitting. What a drudgery work is for the mass of us; boring repetition, dreary surroundings, whether in office or factory, with the reward, a wage packet barely sufficient to keep one going until the next pay-day, a long week away, especially so if one has a family to support, and most people do, sooner or later.

Billy Fisher, the main character of the film "Billy Liar," finds his life quite intolerable, from his job as a clerk in a firm of undertakers to his home life with his nagging parents and his television doting grandmother. Well, Billy in his own way rebels, not by sliding into crime, but by letting his imagination run riot, he can conjure up a dream world named Ambrosia where he is all the dictators rolled into one or the conquering hero with the cheers of the populace ringing in his ears. Billy also tells ridiculous stories in his efforts to illuminate a drab existence, hence the name of the film.

Billy plans to leave his northern home

town with a roving girl friend for London, where he supposes life will magically change for the better. But he hurries from the train just before it leaves the station, as if he realises that in London

his problems would be with him just as inexorably as if he never left home; in fact, would be with him wherever he roamed.

D. R. WEST.

Unemployment in Yugoslavia

A number of people have asked us for the source of the figures on unemployment in Yugoslavia given in the September ss. The figures were taken from the *International Labour Review's* statistical supplement, June 1963. According to the supplement the figures show registered unemployed from "employment office statistics". It is interesting to note that *Peking Review* (27/9/63), an English language magazine from China, gives the following figures in an article on Yugoslavia. "According to official statistics," says the article, "in February, 1963 the number of the unemployed reached 339,000, or about 10 per cent of the number of the employed. In addition, every year many workers go abroad seeking work."

ALB

Companion Parties

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Petone.
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

For the record

Britain's industrial revolution was powered by coal and forged in iron. It was the Darby's of Coalbrookdale, a family of ironmasters, who pioneered the technique of first coking the coal which in turn enabled the use of English ores; in less than half a century, coal and iron between them had transformed the face of England. Since then coal has lost ground to oil, but iron and steel continue to dominate the economy of world capitalism.

It was iron that provided a material strong enough to stand up to steam and so paved the way for Watt's engines. Industry was able to get away from the rivers and streams and its dependence on waterwheels. Hundreds of miles of canals were built in no time to cope with the increased demands of the blast furnaces for coal. Roads were built to carry away the manufactures.

In the 1850's, iron gave way to steel with the developments introduced by Bessemer and Siemens of using "blowers" to raise the furnace temperature and get rid of the impurities in the iron. Since then there have been further improvements, using electric furnaces for special steels and, very recently, the use of oxygen instead of air for the blast. At the same time, as the industry has grown bigger and bigger, more use has been made of the integrated plant principle whereby all the processes of steelmaking are concentrated on the same site—hence the growth of the huge complexes which are the dominant feature today.

These installations need vast capital resources. United States Steel, the biggest producer in the world, has a share capital of over £1,000 million and its nearest rival, Bethlehem Steel, more than £500 million. The world is now scoured for iron-ore; mountains of it are literally taken away and transported thousands of miles to the furnaces. Marvels of engineering construction are built to load and unload it and bulk carriers of up to

100,000 tons ply a ferry service across the oceans. More and more, the furnaces are migrating to the coast to eliminate transport costs—the result is the huge new plants at Newport and Dunkirk, and the proposed giant complex at Rotterdam.

In the Darby's time, a firm was big if it produced a thousand tons of iron a year; nowadays it is in economic danger if it produces less than a million, or even two million, tons. Steel is still one of the pillars of capitalism's economy—it is still the barometer that can forecast whether the economy is set fair, or there are storms ahead, or just a period of doldrums.

As usual under capitalism, the tendency is towards bigger and bigger units. There are still absorptions and amalgamations going on, and more and more does an annual output of 2 million tons seem the minimum unit for present day efficiency and competitiveness. In the following table, showing the "top twenty" producers in the world excluding Russia and China, the minimum is actually about 2½ million tons a year.

Company and Nationality	Production (million metric tons)
1. U.S. Steel—U.S.	23.00
2. Bethlehem—U.S.	13.35
3. Republic—U.S.	7.06
4. Yawata—Japan	5.74
5. National—U.S.	5.42
6. Finsider—Italy	5.39
7. Jones & Laughlin—U.S.	5.04
8. Inland—U.S.	4.77
9. Fugii—Japan	4.55
10. Armco—U.S.	4.54
11. Broken Hill—Australia	4.18
12. Thyssen Hütte—Germany	3.94
13. Youngstown—U.S.	3.82
14. Rheinhausen, Krupp—Germany	3.45
15. Arbed—Luxembourg	3.17
16. Phoenix-Rheinrohr—Germany	3.10
17. Nippon Kokan—Japan	3.05
18. Dortmund—Germany	2.93
19. Usinor—France	2.84
20. United Steel—U.K.	2.72

The most striking impression from the figures is, of course, the overwhelming preponderance of the American firms, particularly U.S. steel, which on its own has a greater output of steel than the whole of the U.K. It is also interesting to note the apparently greater fragmentation of the British industry United Steel

is the only British firm to appear in the table and there is only one other, the Steel Company of Wales, in the next ten, whereas there are three further German companies, three French, and one Japanese.

We hope to take a further look into the international steel industry in a later issue.



Rivalry v. Safety

We do not need to labour the point about the intense competition existing at present in the aviation industry. What with the excitement over Australia's decision to buy American TFX's instead of British TSR-2's; the race between the Anglo/French Concord and the U.S. Mach 2 airliner; and the current struggle of B.A.C. to get their V.C.-10 into the air commercially before the Douglas D.C.-9; the aeroplane manufacturers must really be having a worrying time of it.

It was thus a major setback for B.A.C. when their prototype V.C.-10 crashed recently, apparently as a result of trouble with the tail assembly.

As is well known, the V.C.-10 carries on a technique, engines set well back in the rear, that was developed originally by the French company, Sud-Aviation, with their Caravelle. And it is with Sud-Aviation that B.A.C. are developing the new supersonic Concord.

It has also been known for some time that the V.C.-10 has been running into snags with this particular tail assembly—only a few months ago B.A.C. announced publicly that they had had to modify it. Strong rumour also has it that the Caravelle went through similar troubles in its early development stages. What more natural, then, that B.A.C. should ask Sud-Aviation—after all, their collaborators in the Concord—for details of their earlier experiences of putting engines under the tail?

And what sort of an answer do you think they got? A very dusty one, according to an *Insight* report in the *Sunday Times* of October 27—"Sud-Aviation

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Postscript on Skopje

WHEN I learned of the earthquake in Yugoslavia and the terrible fate of the victims, it brought back to mind my own terrifying experiences in Vienna, as it must have reminded millions of others in the world, who survived the bombing of their homes and the carnage in the 1940s. The blind forces of nature could not then be blamed for it. No, these deeds were unspeakable crimes perpetrated by deliberate human design, scientifically organized and directed by the managers and other hirelings of capitalism, supported and blessed by the church!

That 20 years later this ogre of capitalist war should still have been able to stalk the earth, openly parade his armour, and boast of the ever-growing destructive power of the megaton bombs and Polaris craft, will probably be one of the phenomena incomprehensible to a future society no longer afflicted with political mental inertia.

The suffering of the survivors of the earthquake in Yugoslavia has been temporarily mitigated, as usual under capitalism, by charity. Collections and other assistance have been organised by many countries, but when these helpful channels dry up, the surviving victims will, as usual, be left to their wretched fate.

Some details in connection with this disaster should be put on record, if only to nail the lie and show the hollowness of the assertion that capitalism has been abolished somewhere and replaced by a new and better social system. You may indeed ask how the mass of the people in Yugoslavia can be made to now accept a regime of despotism equal to that of Hitler—the squashing of democracy, the setting up of a Yugoslav Gestapo, forced

FINANCE AND INDUSTRY continued

would disclose nothing."

A few months later, the V.C.-10 crashed, killing all its crew. There may conceivably be other crashes before the makers discover what is happening to the tail assembly.

In the meantime, the Caravelle flies on, with hardly a competitor. And the longer the V.C.-10 takes to get commercially off the ground the longer will Sud-Aviation enjoy this happy state of affairs. Co-operation may be all very well—but under capitalism one must be very careful not to carry it too far.

S. H.

labour camps, and prison for political opponents of the regime, supply the answer to that question. It is fear of persecution—the fate of Milovan Ojilas (seven years' prison for free expression of opinion and publishing a book *The New Class*)—it is government terror that makes people under ruthless dictatorship acquiesce in the horrible regime of State capitalism masquerading under the name of communism.

Among the many helpers of the earthquake victims, neighbouring Austria showed a quite remarkable zeal in assisting the great efforts to alleviate the distress, even though there is at all times great poverty, homelessness and helplessness in her own country. Poignant tales

of human misery and tragedies fill the columns of the daily Press. Who here has not read of evicted families with eight and more children seeking to spend the night in public parks or in ruined houses before being removed by the Police to some barracks? Every autumn every house in Vienna carries a big poster appealing for funds to help the needy and destitute by supporting the innumerable charitable institutions up and down the country. Our letter boxes are constantly filled with appeals for assistance to the countless local poor. But how much greater is the poverty behind the iron curtain and the helplessness in emergencies such as an earthquake!

So, in addition to all the funds the Viennese business firms and newspapers collected, and the trucks full of clothing, bedding, blankets, tents and toys sent to Skopje, a Welfare organisation under the auspices of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* also invited seventy orphans to come to Vienna, where they would be taken care of as the guests of the organisation. Everything was prepared down to the minutest detail, and the children duly arrived at Marburg on the iron curtain border, where Austrian officials had previously arrived to receive the children and see them safely to Vienna. Here also the children were to have a grand reception by the Bürgermeister and a staff of welfare officials.

But—sad to relate—the orphans never got beyond Marburg. Instead of proceeding to Vienna, they had to go back to the communist paradise. Not that there are no wonderful places in Yugoslavia, but these are not for the poverty-stricken wage slaves or the victims of earthquakes—they are for the new class, the new bourgeoisie.

Why had the orphaned children to be sent back?

Apparently the Yugoslav dictator and his close circle had been too busy with the preparations for a right royal reception of their Soviet visitors to be able to supervise and check up on all arrangements made by their underlings. Anyway, when the higher quarters learned of these particular welfare arrangements, the children's exit from the communist paradise and their journey to "capitalist Austria" was stopped. The underlings in charge of the Skopje victims had received their instructions, plus lessons in communist superior "statesmanship" and diplomacy, the orphans had to remain in

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GLASGOW NEWSAGENTS

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Branch News



As in the past, we are making an urgent appeal to Members and sympathisers, to ensure that as many people as possible obtain and read the **Socialist Standard**. This special appeal is made each December and the subscription form in this issue is a simple way in which to fill in names and addresses, and send off to Head Office with the appropriate postal order. Many of us have saved a few extra shillings to spend, as most workers have some days off at the end of the month. Why not spend some of the savings by sending somebody a year's supply of the **Standard**? It is hoped that new readers will not only pass on their copy, but will order copies to be sent elsewhere. It is well worth trying.

Mid-Herts Group are holding two meetings—one on Thursday, December 5 and Thursday, January 2. Details with Meeting Notices. Recently the Group held a meeting attended by the Central Organiser. It was decided not to form a branch at present, and to attempt to increase activities, e.g., fortnightly meetings (instead of monthly), alternating between Stevenage and Welwyn Garden City, perhaps with the assistance of Wembley Branch members.

Belfast Branch (WSP) has agreed to contest at least five seats in the Municipal Elections to be held next May. Candidates have been selected for three wards—Duncairn, Shankhill and Pothinger. Two other Wards

are under consideration. Shankhill and Duncairn have been contested by the Party before, but this will be the first attempt at Pothinger—a Ward where a lot of effort has been concentrated and where **Socialist Standard** sales are very good. There will be Labour, Unionist and Communist opponents and the Party will take the opportunity of putting the Socialist alternative to all the reformist groups. The campaign has already started with literature sales drives and the distribution of leaflets.

Open-air meetings in Customs House Square are well established with audiences averaging 50 each Sunday. Questions are good and the meetings continue until dark. This behoves well for the Spring and Summer when the party hopes to hold week-night meetings there. The Sunday meetings now commence at 3.30 p.m. Despite weekly challenges, none have been accepted by the Labour or Communist Parties. The local organiser of the N.C.L.C., Mr. Andrew Boyd, has agreed to a Public Debate in the New Year—"Which Way to Socialism?". Further details in January.

Swansea Branch is active, more so now that several members are settling in the vicinity which makes it easier for the work to be done. Comrade Harris recently gave a talk to the Students of Swansea University College on "Why Socialists should Oppose the Labour Party." Several articles have appeared in students magazines, written by Party members. Comrades Mellor and Brain recently attended an open-air meeting of the Nazi-Panzer Group and distributed Socialist Party literature. It is hoped, in the near future, to combine a talk in the University with a public meeting in the town. All in all the Comrades in Swansea are optimistic and looking forward to much future activity.

P. H.

LETTER FROM VIENNA continued

Yugoslavia, and Tito's preparations for his trip abroad (this time to America) on his luxury yacht, as befits a ruler, could proceed without further worries. What does the disappointment of poor children—not to speak of the zealous welfare organizers—matter to communist despots with axes to grind?

With humble expressions of regret, but undeterred by this snub, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* sent all the clothing in a big truck-load to the Yugoslav children who of course were overjoyed with the gifts. According to a reporter, the coats and other garments were the first they had had in their lives. Obliging, hardly any other newspaper commented on this episode and on the embarrassment of a so called communist government in its utter failure to cope with an emergency. With the exception of belatedly refusing the foreign help offered to the seventy Skopje orphans, this "communist"

government was not too proud to decline other western assistance and gifts to its poor people.

If, after 46 years of existence, further evidence was still needed to show the cold-blooded swindle, and demolish the impudent assertion that Yugoslavia, Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania and China are communist, recent developments and experiences there should provide that final evidence. Or will the working class, of Czechoslovakia, for example, for ever ignore such almost unbelievable episodes as those of the nine of the eleven prominent Czech communist politicians hanged in 1952, and now rehabilitated as not guilty of the accusations levelled against them 11 years ago? And will the fiasco of the Moscow so called Ideological Conference also be passed over in true capitalist style, like world-wars, as all in the day's work?

R. F.

MEETINGS

HEAD OFFICE MEETINGS

52 Clapham High Street, SW4
Sundays at 8 pm

December 1st

FOOD AND POPULATION

Speaker: D. Zucconi

December 8th

CHALLENGE MEETING

We challenge our opponents and offer them our platform to state their case against SPGB.

ISLINGTON

Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7 (near Finsbury Park Tube)

Thursday, 12th December, 8 pm

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Speaker: J. McGuiness

Thursday January 30th, 8 pm

BRAINS TRUST

C. May, J. D'Arcy.

BETHNAL GREEN

Town Hall, Cambridge Heath, E2
Wednesday, 11th December 8pm

DELINQUENCY

Speaker: J. Law

PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE

Royal Oak, York Street, W1
(near Marylebone Road & Station)
Wednesdays 8.30 pm

December 4th

DELINQUENCY

Speaker: J. Law

December 11th

THE NORMAN CONQUEST

Speaker: L. Dale

December 18th

BRANCH SOCIAL ALL WELCOME

WEMBLEY

Barham Old Court, Barham Park, Harrow Rd., Wembley.
Monday, 9th December, 8 pm

FILM: RACE PROBLEM IN USA

Monday, 30th December, 8 pm

OLD AGE

Speaker: E. Critchfield

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays:

Hyde Park 3 pm
Beresford Square, Woolwich 8 pm

East Street, Walworth

December 1st and 22nd (noon)
December 8th and 29th (11 am)
December 15th (1 pm)

Mondays: Lincolns Inn Fields 1-2 pm

Wednesdays: Outside Charing Cross Tube Station, Villiers Street, 7.30 pm

Thursdays: Tower Hill 12.30-2 pm

THE JOYS OF INDEPENDENCE

THE MORNING AFTER, by Brian Crozier. (Methuen, 36s.).

THE joys of becoming an independent country are, by and large, illusory for the mass of the peoples of the "liberated" countries and not worth the effort and sacrifice so often involved in achieving it. This is a theme that the S.P.G.B. has been plugging throughout its history. We did not need to wait till after the "subject peoples" had experienced the frustrations of independence to come to our conclusions, any more than we needed to wait for the emergence of forced labour camps or the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact to prove that the Soviets were not going to introduce Socialism into Russia.

Of course, this attitude was regarded as cynical and brought us no popularity either among the people who were to be

LEWISHAM MEETINGS

Co-op Rooms, Davenport Road
Rushey Green, Catford, SE6
Every Monday at 8pm

December 2nd

WHAT CAUSES WAR

December 9th

THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY

December 16th

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

WELWYN GARDEN CITY

The Community Centre (Room 3)
Mill Green Road, Welwyn
Thursdays 8 pm

December 5th

PROBLEM OF THE AGED

Speaker: E. Critchfield

January 2nd

CONSERVATIVE PARTY

GLASGOW MEETINGS

Woodside Public Halls, Glenfarg St.
Sundays at 7.30 pm

GLASGOW DISCUSSION CLASS

Every Wednesday, 8 pm in Branch Rooms, 163a Berkeley Street

GLASGOW STUDY CLASS

On the materialist conception of History, every Friday during November at 8 pm in Branch Rooms
Tutor: J. Richmond

BELFAST, IRELAND

Outdoor meetings every Sunday at 3 pm, Customs House Square

Indoor meetings at Branch Rooms
53 High Street, Belfast.

Tuesdays 8 pm

December 3rd **NATIONALISM**

Speaker: L. O'Brian

December 17th **SOCIALISM**

Speaker: D. McCarthy

"liberated" or among the left-wing parties of the west who (except when they were in power, of course) were often in the van of the freedom movement. Nor shall we gain any popularity among the readers of this book if we point out that we could see it all coming.

Nevertheless, this book is a valuable one and worth reading. For Socialists it provides a considerable amount of evidence to support the case we make. For others it may prove something of an eye-opener.

Mr. Crozier has no difficulty in showing that in many of the countries that have thrown out the British or the French or the Dutch the lot of the average worker, far from being better than in Imperial days, is actually worse. He gives the example of Burma where four years after independence the average worker was earning £13 16s. per, not week, not even month, but year. Twelve years earlier, under British rule, the figure was £24 14s. Nothing to write home about, but the Burmese workers can hardly claim to have done very well out of the change for which they struggled. In Indonesia, a country with fantastic natural wealth, the author quotes President Sukarno's own paper as admitting: "A city worker who only makes 6.50 Rupiah a day can never afford a litre of rice at 8 RP. He therefore cannot even support a family," i.e., not even on rice-bowl standards. It must be comforting to a worker in Jakarta to watch his children going hungry and reflect that at least they have expelled the Dutch.

The author also has little difficulty in

showing that on the freedom front most of these countries make as poor a showing as on the economic one. When one thinks of political opponents being tried in chains in the Courts of Ghana (where Nkrumah's strong-arm man was able to send his wife on a spending spree to London to buy, among other things, a £3,000 gold bed) one is almost tempted to forget (as one should not) the quite recent atrocities of the British and French in places like Kenya or Algeria. The author does not mention an item which was quoted in this journal a year or two ago about trade unionists being imprisoned and flogged in the Pakistan of General Ayub Khan, whom he regards as one of the less evil of the rulers thrown up by independence, for the crime of striking for better working conditions. One wonders if these poor devils felt the lash any less painful because it was used on the orders of a fellow Pakistani and not of an alien Briton.

There is a tendency, and Mr. Crozier is not free from it, to suggest that dictatorship is really quite good for the emergent countries or at worst, a necessary evil. This is, of course, an insult to the workers of these countries who deserve their despots no more than the European workers of Hitlerite Germany or Franco Spain. But in general this book does a useful job in showing the futility of the nostrum of independence for the working class. Would that he showed some awareness of the need for a revolutionary change in the social scene in backward and advanced countries alike.

L. WEIDBERG.

THE PASSING SHOW continued from page 196

versely, of course, there is the other ten per cent., and this includes the Duke, who do the exploiting and reap the benefits of ease and comfort. This other "we," if they were honest, would answer the Duke's leading question with the words: "For just as long as we can." Or, to put it another way, "For as long as the workers are mugs enough to let us."

Blessed are the Poor...

Who said that? Well whoever said it, there's one body which doesn't believe it, and that is the Church of England. The total revenue to the Church Commissioners for the financial year ending March 31 was over £17 millions, of which more than £9 millions was from stock exchange investments and about £5½ millions from real estate rentals. In fact, stock exchange and property deals have

more than doubled the Commissioners' income in the past fifteen years. Their capital assets are valued at more than £300 millions.

Rich, very rich, you would say? So would we, but not the Commissioners. Another report followed a few days after their financial one, telling us that they were not really wealthy after all. Apparently the Commissioners contribute only about half of the money needed to keep the Church working. Be that as it may, it does not really concern us. A fool and his money may soon be parted, but what interests us is where his huge sums of money come from in the first place. There is only one answer—from the exploitation of the working class.

E. T. C.

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The Passing Show

When George Orwell wrote *Nineteen Eighty-four*, he was concerned in particular with what he called "double-think." This was the term used to illustrate the crazy practice of reconciling one's self to an evil by equating it with its opposite, summed up in such terms as "War is Peace." What impressed Socialists when reading Orwell's book was that some at least of the facets mentioned in it were with us already, particularly "double-think." Private property society has always had its double-think to help justify its existence to the underdogs, but double-think has become sharpened and enhanced under capitalism to a degree.

Take "War is Peace" for example. Countless times have we been told that we must arm to the teeth to preserve peace, never mind the abundant evidence to show the futility of such action—that it does anything *but* preserve what uneasy peace we may enjoy. Labour, Liberal and Tory parties have all preached the same tragic drivel, and the working class have largely agreed with them.

And should war come, there will no doubt be plenty of them now to urge us to "fight for peace" (another bit of double-think), or rather for the recovery of the peace which their policies have so blatantly failed to preserve. But by then they will have quietly forgotten their previous words. In the meantime, they will continue to vote for "defence" expenditure (more double-think; no power ever has "offence" expenditure), and assure us how much in our interests it all is.

Propaganda goes on the whole time to keep us conditioned to the idea. Sometimes it is more of an undertone, but it is there nevertheless. An example of this was the row which blew up recently over the Australian government's decision to order the American TFX bomber to equip its air-force instead of the British TSR-2. In a subsequent attack on the Tory Government, Labour M.P. Denis Healey said:

It is said that the whole (TSR-2) programme will cost us about £1,000 millions, which works out at £20 millions for every aircraft ordered... does this make sense in military terms, particularly when the

army is still crying out... for helicopters and other transport aircraft which could be bought for only a tiny fraction of the sum?" (*Guardian*, 5/11/63.)

You get our meaning? Mr. Healey did not spend precious minutes arguing a case for armaments as such. The whole assumption behind his statement was that, of course, you agreed they were desirable. It was just a question of which armaments, when, and how much they would cost. Note in addition how you are asked to believe that it is *your* money which is at stake and that therefore you have an interest in seeing how it is spent.

But in truth, such is not for you. An interest like that is for the capitalist class and their spokesmen, like Mr. Healey, because the colossal sums spent on war weapons as well as other state expenditure cannot by any stretch of the imagination come from workers' pockets. Workers get their wage packets and the rest belongs to the capitalist class, but strenuous efforts are made to delude workers otherwise. For without their support, armaments are impossible. Indeed, without it, so is capitalism. There's the lesson to learn.

Hypocrisy

There was once—and still is—a man called Dr. Nkrumah who was imprisoned by the British but later became prime minister of the new West African state of Ghana. Later still he became Ghana's first president when it was declared a republic.

Not long after his rise to premiership, ugly rumours began to circulate about his dictatorial ambitions. Some of his more outspoken opponents just "disappeared" and threats and intimidation were levelled against others. During his lifetime as premier, the Ghanaian parliament passed in 1958 the infamous Preventive Detention Act which enabled his government to imprison for up to five years without trial, anyone considered a danger to the state.

Now we read that this act has been amended to add yet another five years to the period of imprisonment where the

for release under the old act. "A distasteful necessity," claimed the minister of defence in his support of the new move. Now where have we heard such words before? Ah, yes. In South Africa recently when similar powers were given to the Verwoed government.

And talking of South Africa, this brings us to the whole point. There was another of those demonstrations in Trafalgar Square on November 3rd, this time in protest against apartheid. Among the many messages of sympathy and support was one from none other than—Dr. Nkrumah. Somebody once said that those who live in glass houses should never throw stones, but clearly this does not apply to capitalist politicians. Cant, humbug and hypocrisy are political meat and bread to them. Nkrumah is certainly no exception.

The Duke again

The Duke of Edinburgh certainly gets around and simply *loves* making speeches. On October 30 he spoke at the Coal Industry Society's luncheon, on the next day at a flight safety conference, and on November 5 at a nature conservation study group. A record enough to turn any politician green with envy, you might think, though it was the first of these speeches which interested us most.

"How much longer could we go on exploiting every feature of this country for gain?" he demanded to know, and continued: "Is it possible to reconcile the national need to increase prosperity with the national need to use this prosperity for the benefit of the human population?" He said he did not pretend to know the answer, but a few thoughts do occur to us.

"First of all 'we'—if by that he means the majority of us—do not, in fact cannot, exploit any aspect of this or any other country for gain. We are the working class, and all that we 'gain' from our labours is a wage packet. *That* doesn't make us very prosperous. Con-

Speakers

R. Critchfield
E. Lake
D. Zucconi

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

BATTERSEA TOWN HALL, THURSDAY 5 DECEMBER 8pm